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INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE
STATE OF CALIFORNIA—Part 3

HEARINGS
BEFORE THE
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
EIGHTY-THIRD CONGRESS
SECOND SESSION

APRIL 12, 14, AND 23, 1954

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INCLUDING INDEX



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COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

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PUBLIC LAW 601, 79TH CONGRESS

The legislation under which the House Committee on Un-American Activities operates is Public Law 601, 79th Congress [1946], chapter 753, 2d session, which provides:

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled; * * **

PART 2—RULES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

RULE X

SEC. 121. STANDING COMMITTEE

* * * * *

17. Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine members.

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

* * * * *

(q) (1) Committee on Un-American Activities.

(A) Un-American activities.

(2) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (i) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (ii) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (iii) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

RULES ADOPTED BY THE 83D CONGRESS

House Resolution 5, January 3, 1953

* * * * *

RULE X

STANDING COMMITTEES

(1) There shall be elected by the House, at the commencement of each Congress, the following standing committees:

* * * * *

(q) Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine members.

* * * * *

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

* * * * *

17. Committee on Un-American Activities.

(a) Un-American activities.

(b) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time, investigations of (1) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (2) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (3) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

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INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA—Part 3

MONDAY, APRIL 12, 1954

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

The subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to call, at 2:30 p. m., in room 225, Old House Office Building, the Honorable Donald L. Jackson (acting chairman), presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives Donald L. Jackson (acting chairman), and Clyde Doyle.

Staff members present: Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel; Courtney E. Owens, acting chief investigator; Thomas W. Beale, Sr., chief clerk; Donald T. Appell, investigator; and Dolores Anderson, reporter.

Mr. JACKSON. Will you stand and be sworn, please?

In the testimony you are about to give before this subcommittee, do you solemnly swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. SUMNER. I do.

Mr. JACKSON. For the purpose of taking this testimony of the witness this afternoon, the Chair has appointed a subcommittee consisting of Messrs. Scherer, Doyle, and Jackson, with the latter as acting chairman.

Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your name, please?

TESTIMONY OF MERTON D. SUMNER

Mr. SUMNER. Merton D. Sumner, S-u-m-n-e-r.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you accompanied by counsel?

Mr. SUMNER. No, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you desire counsel?

Mr. SUMNER. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born, Mr. Sumner?

Mr. SUMNER. At Cedar Springs, Mich., on October 17, 1910.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where do you reside now?

Mr. SUMNER. At Barrington, Ill., 207 Dundee Avenue.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your occupation?

Mr. SUMNER. I teach new personnel for the Jewel Tea Co., conducting a sales training school.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, what your educational training has been?

Mr. SUMNER. Four years of high school, and one year of college at Greenville, Ill., equivalent to about 2 years.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you lived at any time in San Diego, Calif.?

Mr. SUMNER. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. During what period of time were you a resident of that area?

Mr. SUMNER. After I left the service. That would be the beginning approximately of 1940, or thereabouts, I believe.

I know I was there in 1941, '42, '43, or '44. I don't remember just exactly when I came and when I left.

Mr. TAVENNER. But it would be roughly about those dates?

Mr. SUMNER. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the nature of your employment in San Diego, Calif.?

Mr. SUMNER. I had several jobs. I first went to work in the county hospital as an orderly. Then I took a civil-service examination for the post office and worked there for several years.

Mr. TAVENNER. About when did your employment begin in the post office?

Mr. SUMNER. In the post office? I believe about 1940, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. And you continued how long?

Mr. SUMNER. I think I was there nearly 4 years.

Mr. TAVENNER. Does that mean that practically all the time you were in San Diego you were employed in the Post Office Department?

Mr. SUMNER. After I became a civilian, yes. More time in the post office than anywhere else.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the period of your service in the Armed Forces?

Mr. SUMNER. Oh—give me a chance to get a date together here. I think it started about 1934. I believe I was there for 3 years and 8 months, approximately.

Mr. TAVENNER. You mean at San Diego, Calif., while you were serving in the Marine Corps?

Mr. SUMNER. Not always in San Diego, no, but those were the approximate dates of my service.

Mr. TAVENNER. And then you received an honorable discharge, I assume?

Mr. SUMNER. Medical discharge—otherwise honorable.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the date of your discharge, approximately?

Mr. SUMNER. I think probably around—somewhere between '37 and '39, I believe.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then you became a resident of San Diego, Calif., upon your discharge from the armed services?

Mr. SUMNER. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where did you go upon leaving San Diego in approximately 1944?

Mr. SUMNER. To Grand Rapids, Mich., which is about 20 miles from my hometown where I was born. I didn't go directly to Grand Rapids, but in the vicinity of Grand Rapids—first I was out on a farm.

Mr. TAVENNER. The committee is studying the activities of the Communist Party in the area of San Diego, Calif. Information has come

to our attention indicating that you have some knowledge of the activities of that organization while you were employed by the post office. Is that true?

Mr. SUMNER. I should have. I was a member of the Communist Party at that time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, the circumstances or way under which you became a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SUMNER. Yes. It was while I was still in the Marine Corps, aboard the U. S. S. *Tuscaloosa* at that time. Our ship was in drydock at Vallejo, getting barnacles scraped off and various repairs made. One afternoon I was strolling around the deck and there was a group of welders—spot welders and riveters, working on the ship and talking about religion in a manner in which I had never heard before.

Having come from a religious family—a very strict religious family—I stopped and listened to the tone of the conversation, which was very antireligious.

Mr. JACKSON. These were civilian navy-yard workers, I gather.

Mr. SUMNER. Yes, sir. Civilian navy-yard workers aboard the ship.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the approximate date of this?

Mr. SUMNER. I believe it was about a year before I received my discharge.

Mr. TAVENNER. That would be probably in 1938?

Mr. SUMNER. That would be pretty close.

Mr. TAVENNER. Very well. Proceed and tell us what occurred.

Mr. SUMNER. I listened for a while and walked by and then came back again and said "This conversation is interesting me in a way—may I ask whether you belong to some kind of group or organization that meets to discuss these things?" They said, "Yes, we do. Why, did you find our conversation interesting?" And I said "Yes, I did." They started talking among themselves for a while. They asked me a few questions—where I was born—what political party I was affiliated with—what my religious background was—and so I told them. They then wanted to know when I would get my next liberty, so I said it would possibly be that coming weekend. Then they said, "If you do, you are invited over to such and such an address." I don't remember the address now, and they wrote it down on a card and handed it to me. I asked if I was welcome to bring a friend along with me, a second-class radioman, who was my friend, and he said "Well, yes. At this meeting I see no reason why you shouldn't be allowed to do that." So I invited this friend of mine. I don't recall his name now. It was on a Saturday. We both had liberty—in fact we arranged it so we would have liberty together because we were curious about what this was all about.

When we got there, we knocked at the door and someone asked us to come in. I showed this card. The man at the door said, "Why did you come in uniform?" And I said, "Why? I didn't know there was anything wrong with it." This was in peacetime and we could wear civvies. He said, "Well, come in."

We went in and sat down. There were approximately 30 people present—mostly men and possibly 2 or 3 women. They were all of the same type—workmen—you could see that they were. Their conversations went in the same manner and they were talking about unions.

This was pretty much over my head because up to this time I knew nothing about union organization—what their aims were or anything else.

Before the meeting was through, however, we both became aware of the fact that this was a meeting of the Vallejo Communist Party. Towards the close of the meeting the man who had invited us to attend in the first place came over and sat down beside us and asked if we were interested in joining. I said to my buddy, "What do you say we do to find out what it is all about?" He said, "I am game if you are." So they passed around cards. There were evidently a half-dozen people they had contacted like ourselves. All but one person there signed the card and paid dues. If I remember right they charged us a dollar—and told us when the next meeting would be. They said, "In the meantime, here is some literature. Take it back to your ship, study it over, but be careful where you keep it because the officers may not understand it if they see it."

I put the literature inside my marine jacket and went aboard ship. We went down in the emergency radio room—read the literature through, and destroyed it. They were pamphlets on discrimination against the Jewish people—against Negro people in the United States—why the CIO was a better labor organization than the A. F. of L. because of the way in which it was organized—and something about the organization being more militant. I think there was a Communist Manifesto there also, in short form, by Karl Marx. We threw the stuff out of the porthole after we finished reading it.

I didn't make any contact with the party from that time until I was out of the service and back in San Diego, in civilian life.

Mr. TAVENNER. Let me interrupt you there. Do you recall who it was led this meeting you attended?

Mr. SUMNER. No, I don't.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you remember any of the names of the people?

Mr. SUMNER. Well, if you had asked me shortly after the meeting, I could have named them as Comrade Joe, Comrade Dick, Comrade Tom, and so forth. There were no last names mentioned.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you later on in your experience meet any of the individuals who were present at that meeting?

Mr. SUMNER. No, I have never seen them since that time, to my knowledge.

(At this point Representative Donald L. Jackson left the hearing room.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Did this group have any name, or any designation of any type?

Mr. SUMNER. Well, yes it did, because all groups have names, but I do not know what the name of this particular group was. I expect it was called a union unit of some type.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know what union? I mean by that, was this group of Communist Party members who were in a particular union?

Mr. SUMNER. I am pretty sure it was because they were all laboring people. It was very evident there were no professional people there, so it was not a mixed type of group. They were all steamfitters, welders, and shopmen of one type or another. It is possible they were all working aboard various ships, but of that I have no real knowledge.

Mr. TAVENNER. Very well. What was your next contact with the Communist Party?

Mr. SUMNER. The next contact with the Communist Party was in San Diego, at the International Book Shop. If I remember correctly, the address was 635 E Street in San Diego. I went to the bookshop and told them of my previous contact with the party, and that I had had no contact since, and asked them what group or unit I would affiliate with in San Diego.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did that occur?

Mr. SUMNER. It occurred while I was working at the county hospital. That would be a short time after my discharge from the service. It must have been around '38—1938.

Mr. TAVENNER. Apparently it was about in the same year in which you had become a member, or was it in the following year?

Mr. SUMNER. I believe it was the following year.

Mr. TAVENNER. Very well. What occurred after the interview you have just described?

Mr. SUMNER. They said that I evidently knew very little about the party if this was the only contact I had had. I said that was correct, and I only knew what I had heard on the outside. So they said I had better go to a school which was a beginners school for new members and lasted a week, and I was expected to attend each meeting. At the close of this week I would be given an opportunity to decide whether or not I wanted to join, because I would have to rejoin if I came in with them. They would want me to come in as a new member.

So I signed up for the school. The school consisted of sessions on the history of the American labor movement—the history of the United States, from a Marxist viewpoint, which was to the effect that economic conditions determined trends of history, not morals—not the leadership of great men or the lack of leadership of great men—but everything is determined by economic conditions, and the man will think the way he does depending upon his own personal economic condition.

This was the type of thing we were taught, and then we had sessions on the discrimination that existed in this country against certain minority groups, such as the Negroes, the foreign born, and it even went back to the American Indians. Then at the close of this session we were given a questionnaire—a written questionnaire. One of the questions I remember because I evidently answered everything correctly except this one. It was, "Do you feel that if communism came to the United States tomorrow, that it would benefit everyone?" I answered "Yes." The leader—his name was Dick, but I can't recall the last name—said there was where I was entirely wrong. I said "Why, what do you mean? If it is all the fine things you have been saying, it seems to me that it would help everyone—minority, majority, and everybody else." He said, "Well, it wouldn't help the capitalistic owners of the country because we would line those all up against a wall and shoot them like dogs." I swallowed a couple of times and didn't have anything else to say. I didn't agree with him, however, because I felt at that time that if communism would come into this country that next week that it would benefit everyone.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you give some identifying information regarding this person named Dick, or whom you referred to as Dick?

Mr. SUMNER. I can picture him in my mind. His wife's name was Jean. He had a very dark complexion—however, he was a blonde. He looked like he laid out hours and hours on the beach. This was the type of complexion he had—and very blonde hair.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he a functionary in the party?

Mr. SUMNER. To my knowledge at that time he was county organizer, or at least the San Diego City organizer of the party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know where he lived?

Mr. SUMNER. No I don't. I was never in their home. I met him and his wife at the bookshop several times. They later were divorced and he married—I heard that he married, but I don't know for sure. One of the party members told me that he had married a Mexican girl and disappeared, south of the border somewhere and left his wife and two or three children—small children.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where was this school held that you referred to?

Mr. SUMNER. It was held in the Workers' Alliance room which was adjacent to the bookshop and a part of the same building.

Mr. TAVENNER. In what city?

Mr. SUMNER. San Diego, Calif.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you attend the school?

Mr. SUMNER. As I recall it—for a week.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you fix a date for the school?

Mr. SUMNER. I think I could if I dug into some of my old trunks down in the basement because I was elected, or named or chosen secretary for this particular school, to keep notes on the proceedings, and I believe I still have those notes somewhere.

Mr. TAVENNER. Would you produce them for a member of our staff for our inspection.

Mr. SUMNER. I will if I can find them. They were in a notebook—well typed up and decorated with pictures.

Mr. TAVENNER. What type of pictures are you speaking of? Pictures of individuals?

Mr. SUMNER. No. The pictures were of propaganda nature. Nothing that would benefit the committee except to find out the result the school would have on new people—how it would influence your thinking—for example, they would bring a statement that Dr. Albert Einstein said. I remember that he said at one time that he felt the Soviet Union was the greatest force in the world today—so I scurried around and got a picture of Albert Einstein to illustrate this statement. Those are the type of pictures I am referring to.

Mr. TAVENNER. How many persons attended this group?

Mr. SUMNER. I believe in round numbers about a dozen, and I have all their names in this notebook, if I can find it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you recall independently of the notebook the names of any of those who attended this school.

Mr. SUMNER. Well, let me see. Besides Dick and his wife Jean, there was a Comrade Bessie.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is that a first name or a last name?

Mr. SUMNER. I believe a first name, sir. A Comrade Bessie. There was also a Comrade Dorothy, who was cross-eyed. Bessie was short and heavy set—about 48 or so, and Dorothy was also about that age.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know their last names?

Mr. SUMNER. No I don't. Most of them would give their first names as I did. I went by the name of Don.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you learn the last names of any of the persons who attended?

Mr. SUMNER. At that time I probably did.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you have that in your notebook?

Mr. SUMNER. It is possible. I don't recall.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall who any of the instructors were?

Mr. SUMNER. Yes. Dick, who was the organizer for either the county or the city, and Bessie. I don't recall any of the sessions being held by anyone else, except Dick and Bessie.

Mr. TAVENNER. After the completion of your training at this school, what further connection did you have with the Communist Party at San Diego?

Mr. SUMNER. I was assigned to a unit there that met at the bookshop. Now this was called—we met at the bookshop once a week. The unit was called a mixed unit. Why they called it a mixed unit I am not certain. For example I could have been assigned to—well I was working at the county hospital which was not organized, so I guess it couldn't have been a union group to which I was assigned. So I think the reason it was called a mixed unit was that most of them were new people, except there may have been some—well they couldn't call them supporters—but supporters from other groups would be in attendance. Members were left in this unit and then assigned to other units, one by one.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you recall the approximate date when you were assigned to this group?

Mr. SUMNER. Yes; it was right after I had completed the week's schooling.

Mr. TAVENNER. What year would that be?

Mr. SUMNER. I believe around 1939.

Mr. TAVENNER. How many persons were in the group?

Mr. SUMNER. Twelve. Oh, you mean in the unit?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. SUMNER. Around seven or eight. It was less than those who were in the school. All of them that went to the school didn't go on with it.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you remain in that group, or unit?

Mr. SUMNER. All right now. About here my memory is becoming hazy. I don't know just why, but I can't remember how long I was in that unit, and I can't remember what unit I went to after that. I believe the next unit I went into was approximately 3 or 4 months after that—and it was a beach unit. It was called the beach unit because I moved to Ocean Beach, which was San Diego suburban. It was composed of people who lived in the beach sections, La Jolla, National City Beach, Point Loma Beach, Mission Beach, and Ocean Beach, and so on.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you recall the date when you changed your residence to that beach area?

Mr. SUMNER. I can't recall the date, but it must have been in late 1939 or maybe early 1940.

Mr. TAVENNER. How many persons composed the beach unit?

Mr. SUMNER. I imagine about 30, if all of us got together. If we had a turnout of 12 or 13 workers we thought we were doing well.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you remain a member of that unit?

Mr. SUMNER. Until the unit was dissolved and started meeting as a city unit. That would be—I can't think of the year, but it would have

to be about the time that Hitler signed the nonaggression pact with the Soviet Union, because that was the time the San Diego Communist Party was most unpopular and the leaders felt that we should dissolve our units and meet as a city group. When various units would get together, I imagine they contacted the other units in San Diego. When we did get together it was to be by word of mouth, rather than using a telephone or the mails as heretofore. If we wanted to call the meeting for some little reason, we would just go around and contact the people.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the principal objective of this unit—the beach unit of the Communist Party?

Mr. SUMNER. Our principal objective was—we felt or at least I felt it was to hold study groups. We studied various economic conditions and kept track of conditions and what was going on in the war. The city organizer would come around and he would pick people from our unit to go out and do certain things—such as distributing leaflets and pamphlets that the party would put out. We circulated the People's World, which was published in San Francisco on Saturdays. We sold them.

Mr. TAVENNER. By this time were you familiar enough with the setup of the organization of the Communist Party to be able to tell the committee who the high functionaries were and what positions they held?

Mr. SUMNER. Well, yes. The State man—you would hear the names of the State men quite often—such as Schneiderman, Bill, whose offices were in San Francisco. Pettis Perry, the Negro, was a State functionary, I believe, or he may have been a national functionary of the party. He was a heavy set Negro. Anita Whitney, who was a State functionary—I believe it was State. Mother Bloor. These names were pretty common among members because we were constantly reading pamphlets put out by these people.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you give us the names of functionaries on the county level?

Mr. SUMNER. County functionaries? They were different at different times. It seemed about every 8 or 9 months there would be a complete reorganization—someone would come in and someone else would go out. After Dick left, I believe the man who replaced him was Matt—I believe his first name was Matthew. I don't recall the last name.

People who stayed were, however—

Mr. TAVENNER. What was that name?

Mr. SUMNER. People who stayed on, whether county or not, were the Deckers. I don't know whether it was spelled D-e-c-k-e-r or D-e-k-k-e-r. Frances, and what was her husband's name now? It was Frances Decker or Dekker, and I should know it because we always said their names in the same breath—would it have been Bill? Anyway it was Decker, and her name was Frances.

Mr. DOYLE. How old a woman was she?

Mr. SUMNER. She was young—anywhere in her 20's—a blond.

Mr. TAVENNER. What position did she hold?

Mr. SUMNER. I don't know but she was always there and taking an active part. She could have been a secretary but I couldn't say for sure.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, are there any names you can now recall of persons who were functionaries on the county level?

Mr. SUMNER. I only attended one meeting—one county meeting—it was for the purpose of electing officers and that was just before I left San Diego.

Mr. TAVENNER. In 1944?

Mr. SUMNER. About 1944, I believe so.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was there a city committee, or executive committee of the Communist Party in San Diego with which you were familiar?

Mr. SUMNER. Well, I was always familiar with the organizer of them. There was——

Mr. TAVENNER. Who was the organizer?

Mr. SUMNER. Matt—Matthew. There was a Vidaver. Right now I can't say for sure if the two names go together or not, but it sounds awfully familiar.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you give us the names of any other members of the beach group of the Communist Party?

Mr. SUMNER. Beach Club—yes.

There was a Jay and Alberta Fouts.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you give any other identifying information regarding them, such as their occupations and their activities within the party.

Mr. SUMNER. Jay's activity was as a garbage collector, or rather his occupation was.

Then there were the Berman's. The last name was Berman and the first name was—Mildred and Phil Berman, I imagine. It may have been spelled with 1 "n" instead of 2. Phil, I think, worked at the Consolidated Vultee Aircraft Corp. I don't believe Mildred worked.

Then Al—or Albert Pitt, and his wife's name was—no, I don't recall it.

There was an Alexander somebody, that we called Alex. He lived in Ocean Beach.

There was a young couple from the Scripps Institute, and it was in La Jolla. I believe it is a part of California Tech, or UCLA. They were studying oceanography, or something of that type at Scripps in La Jolla.

Then there was a young couple—I think the last name was Olsen—Dorothy Olsen. His name doesn't come back to me.

There was another young couple—most of them were young couples. He came in from the United States Army and was in the group about a month or two and was gone again, and I can't recall his name. I should be able to because he was a so-called artist of the Home Front News, of which I was editor in chief. It was a propaganda sheet which we broadcast or put out from the beach neighborhood—we ran it off on the mimeograph.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was that sponsored in any way by the Beach cell or group of the Communist Party?

Mr. SUMNER. Yes. We had our name on it.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the general purpose of the news sheet or publication?

Mr. SUMNER. The general purpose was to—I wish I had some copies of that—I don't think I saved any of those. I can give you what the

nature of the articles were that we ran. There was one article entitled "Why Don't We Give Our Soldiers the Vote?" Then there was one, "Why Doesn't the Government Support Tito in Yugoslavia?" He at that time was in the favor of Russia. Another one was on a local issue, "Let's Get Out to the Polls and Elect So-and-So as Mayor," and I can't even remember the name now. I got called on the carpet for that one because they informed me we weren't supposed to back anyone. I said, "Why? Isn't he a good man?" And they said, "Yes, but the majority of the people aren't for the Communist Party and that is pretty likely to lose him a lot of votes in the Beach area with the Communist name on the bottom of the sheet. That was the type of thing we had in the news sheet. Down at the bottom we would always say, "For information concerning the party, phone so-and-so," which was the bookshop address of the city headquarters of the party. Anyhow, the phone was in the book, and we always said to phone so-and-so, or write to so-and-so for additional information.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the name of this pamphlet or news sheet?

Mr. SUMNER. The Home Front News.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you remain a member of the Beach group of the Communist Party?

Mr. SUMNER. Until the units were dissolved—not actually dissolved, but we didn't meet anymore as groups.

Mr. TAVENNER. I believe you said that was approximately in the period of the signing of the Hitler-Stalin Pact?

Mr. SUMNER. I am trying to rationalize to myself that that was when it happened. I am trying to get clear in my mind why the units dissolved as such, and why we met as a city group. I can't think of any good reason why it was done, unless it was that reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, what your experience in the Communist Party was, beginning at the time that the separate units were disbanded in San Diego and you began meeting as a city group. That is correct, isn't it, city group?

Mr. SUMNER. I believe it was county because—and yet I am confused with the Grand Rapids units. I am putting the two of them together now in my mind. I keep getting this Grand Rapids group mixed up with San Diego. In San Diego it was city—it was still city in San Diego. We met at a woman's club—a Negro woman's club.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well—did this club or group know that the meetings you were holding were Communist Party meetings?

Mr. SUMNER. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Tell the committee on what you base this statement, please.

Mr. SUMNER. Let's see—how did you—when we were notified we would just say we were having meetings and didn't say this was a Communist group meeting, and we were going to meet at such-and-such a time and would be there. When we got there we called each other comrade this-and-that.

Mr. TAVENNER. I am speaking of the knowledge that it was a Communist Party meeting, not by the members in attendance, but I am talking now about this woman's club, this Negro woman's club which was allowing you to meet in their quarters.

Mr. SUMNER. Oh, of that I don't have any knowledge. I wondered myself sometimes about that.

Mr. TAVENNER. As far as your testimony, you couldn't say this woman's club knew of the purpose of the meetings held by you in their club quarters, or that it was a Communist Party group that was meeting there?

Mr. SUMNER. To my knowledge they didn't know that—however, I couldn't say for sure one way or another.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you please tell us your experiences from time to time in the citywide group meetings?

Mr. SUMNER. Usually they would get an outside speaker who would come down from Frisco and Los Angeles. I know Pettis Perry was there once—a Negro man, and I believe he was from Frisco.

There were others whose names I don't recall. I saw them once or twice perhaps—but the name of Pettis Perry sticks with me. I just saw him that once, and of course it was all after Hitler attacked the Soviet Union and then we completely swung over into the war effort. It was a complete switch. You had to be able to turn some pretty quick somersaults overnight from time to time.

We were told to cooperate in every way with the war effort and whatever we did, and whatever we did to not do it in a way as though we knew it all. They told us "You are going to even find some people among the American Red Cross and various safety organizations around the towns that can teach you a lot, and to become affiliated with these groups." We were to join a safety group of some kind—take first aid courses, so that in case of attack we can be right out there in front. We were to be on record to be outstanding because the party might get to the place where it is looked upon pretty favorably in some circles and the harder we worked for the war effort, the more favorable our position would become.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the source of those directives?

Mr. SUMNER. Men like Pettis Perry that would come in from Frisco.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were the meetings addressed by Pettis Perry and other persons holding similar positions closed meetings of the Communist Party, or were they open meetings that is, open to non-Communist Party members?

Mr. SUMNER. I believe they were closed. To my knowledge no invitations were given out except to party members.

Mr. TAVENNER. How did you receive your notice to attend such meetings?

Mr. SUMNER. At that time, I believe, they were using the telephone again. They were notifying us by phone.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who were the leaders of the county group at that time?

Mr. SUMNER. Who were the leaders?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. SUMNER. The city group, I believe it would be, wouldn't it? The city group in San Diego?

Mr. TAVENNER. Let me ask you first? How many persons composed the city group?

Mr. SUMNER. There was the old beach unit, which was made up of approximately 30 members. There was a professional unit—I don't know what their membership would be. That would be made up of teachers and people of that nature. There were union groups, labor

union units—an old labor union unit. I don't know how many members they had because I never attended one. And then there were members at large, or something of that sort. I don't know how they met or how they held themselves together, but once in a while a member at large would attend this city group. The membership took an active part in discussions, but had very little directives. You couldn't get up and say "let's do this or do that." You would act on a suggestion—perhaps it would be made by the Chair, and the Chair was the organizer—someone like Pettis Perry, who addressed the group, and the Chair would say, for instance: "You have heard the presentation. The motions are in order, and what is your desire to carry out this program?"

Mr. TAVENNER. About how many organizations composed this city group of the Communist Party, roughly?

Mr. SUMNER. There must have been about 80 members anyway in San Diego, but if we had 25 members—if 25 turned out for the city group, it would be good.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you occupy any position with the city group at any time, such as secretary or treasurer, or any other position?

Mr. SUMNER. No, no.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know who the chairman was?

Mr. SUMNER. The chairman would have been the city organizer. This Matt, whom I think had a last name of Devalo—he had a little moustache and Morgan Hull was the organizer at that time. He was in there just a short period of time and then gone.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall who succeeded Morgan Hull?

Mr. SUMNER. No, I think Morgan Hull, as I recall, was the organizer at the time I left San Diego, but who succeeded him I don't know, because I attended a county meeting just before leaving San Diego and I am pretty sure it was Morgan Hull who chaired that meeting. I think he was a county organizer. I think he chaired that meeting.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you recall at this time any of the names of the members at large who attended these meetings?

Mr. SUMNER. The members at large—uh—no sir. They were different at each time—there were always some people that were always there. There would be a half-dozen people who were always there. The rest of them you would see once and not see them again.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know the names of any of the members at large in San Diego?

Mr. SUMNER. No, I don't.

Mr. TAVENNER. You referred to members of the professional group having attended the citywide meetings?

Mr. SUMNER. Yes sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you recall the names of any of the members of the professional group of the Communist Party?

Mr. SUMNER. No, I can't on that either. I don't—they attended rarely—they would send a delegate, who as I recall was a different person each time.

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you a list of names for the purpose of endeavoring to refresh your recollection of party members in San Diego. Will you examine this list and if this list refreshes your recollection, tell the committee, please, the names of any appearing thereon who were known to you to have been members of the Communist Party?

If there is any individual you are not certain about do not mention his name or make reference to it in your testimony.

Mr. SUMNER. I don't recall any of these names, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Very well. Will you give the committee the names of any persons known to you to have been members of the Communist Party who attended any of the meetings to which you have referred?

Mr. SUMNER. Yes, this Alexander I named in the first part of the testimony. His first name has come to me. It is Ben Alexander. I am trying to think of any other names — no — I can't recall any other names at this time at least beyond the names I have already mentioned.

Mr. TAVENNER. You stated that you were a member of a group of the Communist Party just prior to your moving to the beach area?

Mr. SUMNER. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. I didn't ask you the names of those associated with you at that time, or of that group. Will you search your memory on that?

Mr. SUMNER. Largely that was the same group who attended the preliminary schooling which they gave us.

Mr. TAVENNER. I believe you have stated that this group was largely the same as the group who attended the school with you, and that you believed that you can reproduce their names accurately from your notes, if you are able to find them?

Mr. SUMNER. I am hoping so. I know I put them down in the bottom of an old trunk.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, what incidents occurred during the time you met with the citywide group of the Communist Party until the time you left San Diego?

Mr. SUMNER. I don't quite get the nature of the question there. It isn't clear to me what you mean.

Mr. TAVENNER. I want to know what particular activities the Communist Party engaged in during the period of time you are now testifying about; that is, from the time you began attending the citywide meetings of the Communist Party until the time you left San Diego. Any activities which would throw some light on the character of the Communist Party in San Diego.

Mr. SUMNER. The distribution of literature throughout the town, such as the People's World. Also an active part in any campaign which would come up. The party would determine which men, or group of men they said were the most liberal. You can put quotation marks around the word "liberal" if you like—at least that was the word they used for most progressive-liberals.

Also the passing out of circulars. Also there was an organization which was chaired by a Communist functionary—I can't recall the name, but he was tall and blonde and young. This was the Americans for Democratic Action organization, at least that is the name in my mind right now.

Also we supported the campaign of Governor Olsen and Leo Gallagher. Those two names I can remember, but I can't name any others. We went around nailing up billboards all over town on this.

I believe it was during this time—no, that must have been earlier—an organization, or a letter-writing campaign it actually was—to organize as many people as possible to get interested in a letter-writing campaign to Congress to free Tom Mooney from prison. Mass meetings were held at the Methodist Church in San Diego for this.

Mr. TAVENNER. Those mass meetings were not held under the name of the Communist Party, were they?

Mr. SUMNER. No. Not under the name of the Communist Party, but we sponsored, or supported and worked in and through these meetings, to make sure there was plenty of literature passed out, and that type of thing.

Mr. TAVENNER. To whom did you pay Communist Party dues?

Mr. SUMNER. I believe in the city we were paying to Frances Decker.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, whether there were any instances that you know of in which members of the Communist Party were disciplined for a deviation from what was considered to be Communist Party directives or the Communist Party line? If so, will you tell the committee about them?

Mr. SUMNER. The first instance that comes to my mind resulted from a discussion that the party was having on the Negro situation. (At this point Representative Clyde Doyle left the hearing room.)

Mr. SUMNER. This particular party member—I don't recall his name—said that the Negro people were—I am trying to think now just how he put it—that the Negro people were a minority part of this Nation, and the leader jumped up immediately and said "The Negro people are a nation themselves." The member got up again and said "Why do you say the Negro people are a nation in themselves? They have no government and no organization." The leader then said, "You don't understand the meaning of the word 'nation.' A nation is a group of people who have a common interest—common background—and who have developed over a period of years why they have because of their economic conditions, and whether they are organized into an official government or not, that makes them an official nation." The gentleman from the floor said he couldn't understand that at all—that it didn't make sense to him—so the Chair informed him he was out of order and not to discuss it anymore but to come to him after the meeting.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who was the leader of that meeting?

Mr. SUMNER. I believe it was this Matt.

Then there was another one on the Jewish situation. I believe this was away back in the bookshop. I never could put these two together in my mind because they seemed to me to be quite the opposite of what was said in the case of the Negro people. In the course of the conversation one was asked "What would be your definition of a Jew?" He said it would be a person who belongs to the Jewish race, and the leader, who was this Dick, but I don't recall his last name, said, "That is where you are entirely wrong. The Jewish people are not a race—they are a religion." He said, "If a Catholic would renounce his religion tomorrow and accept the Jewish orthodoxy, he would be a Jew, or if a Jew would renounce his Jewish orthodoxy and accept catholicism, he would be a Catholic." The man from the floor said "That doesn't make sense to me. It seems to me they are a race of people who have developed over a period of time and have the Jewish blood." The leader got mad and said "There is no difference in the blood of a Jew or of the blood of an Irishman." They got into quite an argument and it ended up the same way. "See me after the meeting."

In my mind this seemed to be a kind of an opposite approach and I could never figure out the difference.

The only time I was ever reprimanded was in the first meeting when I answered the question that communism would be good for the entire country.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were there any postal employees in San Diego who were members of the Communist Party at the same time that you were?

Mr. SUMNER. I doubt it very much. If there had been I would have seen them at one meeting or the other.

Mr. TAVENNER. You testified that you left San Diego in 1944 and went to Grand Rapids, Mich.?

Mr. SUMNER. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. What type of work were you engaged in in Grand Rapids?

Mr. SUMNER. In Grand Rapids the first thing I did out in the country—it was a rural community about 30 miles out of Grand Rapids—was to lease some property there and I went into “muck farming,” or what we called “muck farming” there, and raised onions and cabbages.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you affiliate with any party there at Grand Rapids?

Mr. SUMNER. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee how that was done?

Mr. SUMNER. I took the address in the phone book. They had given me a letter in San Diego of transfer to Grand Rapids.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who gave you the letter?

Mr. SUMNER. The organizer would be Morgan Hull. I had an initial on it, but Frances Decker gave the letter to me.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was stated in the letter?

Mr. SUMNER. I believe it was a sealed letter, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. To whom was it addressed?

Mr. SUMNER. To the Grand Rapids Communist Party; that is, on the outside there was no address but must have been on the inside like that.

Mr. TAVENNER. What did you do with the letter?

Mr. SUMNER. I burned it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you deliver it to the Communist Party headquarters in Grand Rapids?

Mr. SUMNER. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. How did you make your contact with the Communist Party in Grand Rapids?

Mr. SUMNER. When I got to Grand Rapids I didn't know whether I wanted to get into it or not. There was a long period that I didn't contact them. It ran on for several months and one day, out of curiosity as much as anything else, I looked it up in the phone book.

Here again it was in a bookshop in Grand Rapids, on Bond Avenue. I told them of my membership in San Diego and they said “Where have you been all this time?” I said “I have been trying to find you, and that I had a letter of transfer and wasn't too certain that I wanted to get started right away on this again.”

He was pretty mad and said, “Even if you lost or mislaid the letter, you could have found us. I don't see why you took all this time getting here. There are some back dues to pay, and if you are going to

belong to this group here you are going to have to buckle down because we don't do that sort of thing here." He proceeded to read me off pretty seriously.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was his name?

Mr. SUMNER. Muelder, M-u-e-l-d-e-r, I think it was spelled. It was his last name and I can't think of his first name.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you unite with the Communist Party in Grand Rapids?

Mr. SUMNER. Yes. I paid him my dues when I was in there and he said a card would be issued to me later. They first wanted to check to see if I had done anything I shouldn't have according to the Communist doctrine. They made some type of investigation, I imagine.

Mr. TAVENNER. How many members composed the Communist Party group in Grand Rapids?

Mr. SUMNER. Grand Rapids—I believe 30 or 35 members.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the principal activity in which that group engaged?

Mr. SUMNER. Holding meetings. Passing out leaflets at—I am trying to think of the name of that place out in suburban Grand Rapids—it was a big plant out there. Oh, I believe it was General Motors. Passing out leaflets at the gate when they would come out.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were the leaflets prepared by the Communist Party and carrying the Communist Party line?

Mr. SUMNER. As I recall it, they had the name of the Communist Party on the leaflets usually—yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. What other activity was this group engaged in?

Mr. SUMNER. That is the only thing I can think of—the only thing I ever did, or the only thing I was ever asked to do. Weekends I was to distribute the Daily Worker. Oh, I remember another one. To make a door-to-door canvass of the town as closely as possible, which of course was never accomplished because there weren't enough members to go around. We were assigned areas to make a door-to-door canvass to get the Communist Party on the ballot in the State of Michigan. They had to have so many signatures in order to make it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know what year that was?

Mr. SUMNER. Let's see—the last election was in 1950, right?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. SUMNER. It must have been—it must have been just prior to 1946. That would be in 1945.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who were the leaders of the group?

Mr. SUMNER. I have been thinking in terms of San Diego so long it is hard to switch now to Grand Rapids.

Well—the very active ones were Kay Tenet, or T-e-n-n-e-n-t—it may have been spelled either way, but it was Kay, although Kay wasn't her real name. That is the name she went by but her name wasn't Kay. I don't remember what it was now, but she had told me later what it was.

Abe S-a-b-o-l-i-n-s-k-i. That is the young Abe, not his father. His father was not a member because he was foreign-born and they wouldn't accept him.

(At this point in the hearing Mr. Tavenner asked to be excused for a time and Donald T. Appell, committee investigator assumed the questioning of the witness.)

Mr. APPELL. Is young Sabolinski Abe or Tom?

Mr. SUMNER. Abe. He had a brother killed in the war. I don't remember his name though.

Mr. APPELL. Did Abe Sabolinski contribute to the party activities in Grand Rapids?

Mr. SUMNER. The Senior Abe?

Mr. APPELL. Yes, the father.

Mr. SUMNER. Yes.

Mr. APPELL. Both financial and otherwise?

Mr. SUMNER. Yes.

Mr. APPELL. Do you know any specific financial contribution he made to the Communist Party?

Mr. SUMNER. No, except I believe I have heard him saying so. I didn't see him hand out the money to them. He told me he had given money from time to time to them.

The young Abe that you just told me off the record had been killed told me "I am going out on a campaign to get some money and I know Dad will give some, but gee whiz, I don't want Dad to do it all."

Mr. APPELL. What type of unit of the party were you assigned to there? The neighborhood group? What was its Communist Party name?

Mr. SUMNER. The West Side Group was the name of ours.

Mr. APPELL. Who were the members of the West Side Club, as best you can recall?

Mr. SUMNER. The Sabolinskis attended. Kay Tenet attended. Theodore Theodore, whom we called Ted. That was his first and last name. His wife was colored.

Mr. APPELL. Let me ask you if you knew certain individuals from the Grand Rapids area. I will name them and you can answer either "Yes" or "No."

Fred Fields?

Mr. SUMNER. Fred Fields; yes.

Mr. APPELL. Was he a member of the West Side Club?

Mr. SUMNER. Fred Fields—let's see, what was he now—he held some kind of an office for a time in Grand Rapids, but I don't recall what office it was.

Mr. APPELL. Ruth Gilbert? Her maiden name was Williams.

Mr. SUMNER. Ruth Williams—I remember that name.

Mr. APPELL. How about William Glenn?

Mr. SUMNER. William Glenn, yes, and his wife, Virginia. William and Virginia Glenn; yes.

Mr. APPELL. Mike Redick?

Mr. SUMNER. Mike Redick, yes. He was also, besides being a member of the Communist Party, an insurance collector for the International Rural Order of the IWO.

Mr. APPELL. Did you hold any office within the party there?

Mr. SUMNER. Outside of the local unit, you mean?

Mr. APPELL. That is the Communist Party itself.

Mr. SUMNER. Yes, in the Communist Party itself in a unit capacity. I was twice educational director of the unit.

Mr. APPELL. Who was chairman of the unit of the West Side Club?

Mr. SUMNER. Well, it was chaired by the city organizer. He would go around and chair the units. He also chaired the city meetings that were held at the—no, it wasn't a city meeting. We met at Kay Tenet's house. She had a big house there.

Mr. APPELL. The party at Grand Rapids was always a large organization as far as the rest of Michigan was concerned, outside of Flint?

Mr. SUMNER. It was the largest organization in western Michigan, to my knowledge. When we would get together at Kay Tenet's house, which was the western Michigan section, there were members coming in from Muskegon, Benton Harbor, St. Joe's, and Cadillac. We had 2 from Muskegon, maybe 2 from St. Joe, and maybe 1 from Ludington.

Mr. APPELL. The St. Joe group had a larger unit, but they had a good concentration at Benton Harbor. The people who would come to the Tenet house were delegates from the St. Joe area?

Mr. SUMNER. Well, anyone could attend. Someone was supposed to represent the group, but anyone from these towns could come. In fact, they wanted them to come. There were about six who came in from Muskegon and they were pretty happy about them.

Mr. APPELL. Do you recall the identity of anyone from St. Joe or Benton Harbor? This Kay Tenet, for instance. I don't know if you went into that previously, but if not, what was her occupation?

Mr. SUMNER. She was related in some way to a furniture manufacturer. I don't know just what the relationship was. She was single, and I don't know if she had been married or not but she was single at the time I knew her. She must have been in her fifties and she would run an advertisement or maybe 2 or 3 advertisements in a national magazine, such as the Better Homes and Gardens, and magazines of that nature, in which she would advertise a single chair—just one chair that this relative of hers would manufacture, and he would give her the commission evidently on all the chairs she sold as a result of the advertisement. I guess she sold quite a few. As far as I know she only used this way of making a living and she evidently did very well at it. She was pretty influential in town. She knew a lot of influential people. I don't know too much of her background but she knew everybody. She knew ministers—she knew the chairman of the board of education—she held dinner parties at her home where she would invite different people and different speakers. She was—well frankly, I considered her the most intelligent member of the Grand Rapids group and I felt pretty close to her. My wife and I both did. We were friendly and I still feel that way.

Mr. APPELL. As of the time you left there was she still close to the party?

Mr. SUMNER. Yes, and she is now, as far as I know. I can't figure just why. She has got too much on the ball to waste her time in there.

Mr. APPELL. When did you break with the Communist Party at Grand Rapids?

Mr. SUMNER. I didn't break. I never notified them that I was leaving. Grand Rapids may still feel—and Fran Decker too—they may still be under the impression that I still am a party member somewhere.

Mr. APPELL. She was in San Diego?

Mr. SUMNER. That's right. Probably Fran still thinks so. I imagine everyone with whom I have been in contact within the party

thinks I am still a member, but the officials wouldn't think so because if they have checked the national headquarters they would find my dues haven't been paid for the last 6 years.

Mr. APPELL. You ceased all party activities?

Mr. SUMNER. Yes, I went on the road for my company while my family still lived at Grand Rapids and I have had no connection with the party since then.

Mr. APPELL. When was that roughly? Sometime in 1949?

Mr. SUMNER. Well, let's see. I have been with the company for 5 years and I spent a year of that at Grand Rapids, so I went on the road for the company 4 years ago.

Mr. APPELL. So it was really 1949?

Mr. SUMNER. Yes. 1948 or so. Or 1949 or somewhere in there. Four years ago.

Mr. APPELL. I would like to give you an opportunity at this time, if you desire, to put into the record why you began your membership in the Communist Party.

Mr. SUMNER. I think it goes back to religion. I was raised in a very strict religious family. I mean very strict. Smoking was a sin—cardplaying was a sin—wearing a necktie was a sin—wearing jewelry was a sin—and of course dancing and all this type of activity were sin—movies and basketball, and so on. And yet my parents were very sincere Christians. I am not saying anything against the religion as such.

Well, anyhow, up until the time I was graduated from high school I lived under this type of association, not only in my family life but with people who believed in the same way. We had one minister—I hope I am not making this too big but the reason I would like to say this is that I think it can give you some of the psychology the Communist Party can use in working on people's minds and getting them in. They have some pretty damn good psychologists in there. To get back, we had one minister who said in Sunday School one morning—"You are going to hear, when you get out in the world—you are going to hear of modernism in religion. For example, they will tell you the reason the walls of Jericho fell down when the children marched around them"—if you will pardon me, my Dad is dead, and talking of this brings it all back to me—"they will tell you the reason this happened was because of certain vibrations, etc. In other words, they will tell you the Bible can be explained by rational means."

That is where—I didn't know I was doing it—but that was where I first began to doubt many of the things the church was teaching me, and one day when I was in Grand Rapids I was walking down the street and saw a big sign upon one of the churches in town there that we as children were told never to go into. The sign said "Preston Bradley will speak here Thursday night." I didn't know who he was, but I went anyhow and it turned out he was the minister of the First Unitarian Church in Chicago. He talked of Thomas Paine, the early American radical. Preston Bradley just about murdered me that night, as far as all my past thinking of religion was concerned. I came out of there terrifically upset. I had nothing to look to because it seemed all my past foundations were torn out from under me—so I entered on a period where I went to every church I could find. Catholic, Jewish, Protestant, Christian Science, even Spiritualism, because I was seeking for something. At that time I hadn't found it—I mean

when I was on board the ship while I was in the service—in the Marine Corps on board the *Tuscaloosa*. I came across these men and they were a group of men who were talking about religion, and because I was still seeking for something I was interested and stopped to listen to them. This was an entirely new thing to me—the things they were talking about, and the general tone of their conversation was that Jesus Christ was no supernatural man—he was just a carpenter. And yet, according to my past training, and so on, these men were what the majority of people would consider very antireligious. I considered them to be so, too, at that time, and still do in about 50 percent of what they had to say.

So, as I mentioned earlier in my testimony here, I asked them if there was some kind of group that met and discussed these things, and that I was interested. This turned out to be my first Communist Party meeting, and they gave me a party card. I had taken a buddy of mine who was aboard the same ship with me, and we both went to this meeting. When we got there, however, they weren't discussing religion at all, but the trade-union movement.

Mr. APPELL. If I may interrupt here—the meeting in the church where Preston Bradley spoke—was that at Grand Rapids or in Chicago?

Mr. SUMNER. Grand Rapids. He was a minister of the First Unitarian Church in Chicago, but he was speaking in Grand Rapids. He is a good loyal American, and I didn't mean to infer he was not. I am a native of Grand Rapids.

Mr. APPELL. The conversation you overheard aboard the *Tuscaloosa*—when was that?

Mr. SUMNER. That was approximately a year before I received my medical discharge from the Marine Corps. It must have been around 1938 or 1939.

Mr. APPELL. These men that you heard talking—were they aboard the *Tuscaloosa*?

Mr. SUMNER. Yes. Our ship was in drydock at Vallejo, actually at San Pedro—getting work done on it—some spot-welding, repairing the bulkhead and so on. These men were civilians employed by the Navy yard. When I asked them about a meeting they said if I would come to such and such a place I would hear more about it. So I took this friend of mine with me and we didn't know until we got there that it was a Communist Party meeting.

Why did I join? I guess I joined because of ignorance, for one thing. For one thing, ignorance of the full scope or meaning of the Communist movement. For another thing, I was looking for something to fill the big hole I had in my life.

This particular meeting, however, was—like I said—all on trade-union movement things, which was entirely over my head because I knew nothing about the trade-union movement at that time. They asked if we wanted to join the group and things like where were we born, and so on, and were passing out the cards. My buddy and I decided to join for the fun of it and we did. They gave us a bunch of literature to read and we went back on board the ship.

I read the literature and I didn't realize it at that particular time but the literature they gave us to read—to take back on board the ship—was literature on discrimination against the Jewish people—discrimination against the Negro people and articles along the line as

to what we must have in this country, such as a complete brotherhood, and so on. I think if I had a different background—and these people knew what kind of pamphlets to give me, for instance because they played on my past religious experience and it made sense. The danger of the thing is that once they get you started and you become interested, you are taken along enough, inch by inch and foot by foot until finally you wake up to the fact that you have accepted a lot of things that you don't really accept. For example, there is a terrific amount of hero worship involved. Every time Stalin opened his mouth and Browder opened his mouth and said this or that, you said, "Yea, Stalin" or "Yea, Browder" and it was the gospel truth, and you accepted it. This was what I was particularly interested in getting away from. Now, here I was arriving at a place—and I could see it—where it didn't make sense to believe it just because Stalin opened his mouth and said something and you had to swallow it, any more than that it was a sin to wear a necktie or a ring. So there was this terrific amount of hero worship involved. Also you were expected to reverse your thinking overnight on major issues—such as when Hitler and Stalin signed the nonaggression pact, then we were supposed to be against war. Just as soon as Hitler attacked the Soviet Union, the America First Committee became eager for war. I haven't the kind of mind to do that.

Why you go on and continue to be a member—that is something which I wish somebody would tell me. Frankly, I don't understand it but you are always waiting for a spot when something is going to happen so that you can break with the group so that it won't be conspicuous enough for the group to notice and you can get out. I was longing for this opportunity. When my opportunity came with my company to leave Grand Rapids I decided this was it. I decided I was never going to contact another group and would be finished with this whole business and that is going to be that. In a group like that your mind can get to be at a place where you can get to believe just the opposite of what they had taught you, you should believe, because regardless of the theories and regardless of anything else—when so-and-so says something you had better do it, and there is a reason to do it or he wouldn't have said it. So their theories, to my way of thinking, when they know of your background training and get you started and interested and make you think that it is one of the most wonderful things in the world—well you become pretty well saturated with it. Then when the time comes that you are saturated with it, almost anything they tell you to do, you do it because you are saturated with these theories with which you were saturated. Anyhow, these people couldn't tell you both things—that you should have one big brotherhood and yet that you should do this and that against it.

Mr. APPELL. What things about the Communist Party did you, as a result of your membership in the Communist Party, find to be wrong, and which brought you to the point where you said to yourself "I am going to break away from it and have nothing more to do with it."

Mr. SUMNER. The first thing wrong about it is their authority—to follow the leadership and whatever is said must be done. You must be militant and follow this leadership because they have an inside knowledge, and even though it may be a thing you think you shouldn't

do, you should do it. Follow the leadership regardless. This defeats one of their so-called basic conceptions, which is a dictatorship of the proletariat. There is a contradiction there.

Another thing that is wrong about it is that it completely destroys your liberty. You don't have freedom of thought—you don't have freedom of religion—you don't have freedom of expression, because you are supposed to talk, think, and live the party line, no matter whether it agrees exactly with what you are thinking or not.

Another thing that is wrong with it is that it accepts the leadership of a foreign country, rather than the leadership of this country as final. It is the Soviet Union this and the Soviet Union that. Well, now, I believe that the Soviet Union has accomplished something that may not have been accomplished under the Czars. I don't go for the method in which they accomplished it, but you will have to admit the Soviet Union is ahead today agriculturally, mechanically, educationally, et cetera, by its present setup.

The way I look at it, you can go right back to our Founding Fathers here—the conception they had, and the reason we are as far ahead in this country as we are, is by following out these principles. And just like I think there are a lot of good things about the Soviet Union, I think the United States has a good many things which can be considered to be entirely wrong.

Mr. APPELL. Did you find that the Communist Party basically—well, how they regarded the individual, whether they are black, white, Jewish, or what?

Mr. SUMNER. It has this regard for the individual—if the philosophy is right that they have, you can say it is regard for the individual. The philosophy is that only by serving the state can the individual get what he should out of life—therefore it is to the individual's benefit or advantage if he serves the state.

Mr. APPELL. But I am talking about not the theory, but the practice.

Mr. SUMNER. In practice whatever they tell you to do, you do it or else you are in disfavor. You fear them. However, if anyone is threatened physically in the party I don't know of it. I never have been.

Mr. APPELL. We have seen in other localities the party advertises that it serves the best interests of labor, the best interests of the Negro, and other things, whereas in actual practice, they only serve their own end. They exploit the terrible situations that the Negro finds himself in, only to make capital among the Negroes—not to help the Negro gain what he justly deserves.

Mr. SUMNER. That would be a pretty hard thing to put your finger on and to say you know it is true. You don't see it come out in unit and citywide meetings. What goes on behind closed doors, I don't know.

Mr. APPELL. But with respect to their attitude?

Mr. SUMNER. But you do suspect those things.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Sumner, for this record is there anything further you have not been asked about that you would care to tell us about?

Mr. SUMNER. No, I don't think this is the type of answer you are aiming for, but I have said it before and talked it over with my wife and other people that I wish there were some way that this problem could be—this Communist Party in the United States could be ap-

proached on a positive basis. My own thinking on the matter is this, that having the type of government, et cetera, that we do, and the setup we have here—we ought to have within our own framework something that is pitching for our own country the same way the Communists are pitching for theirs. As I look back on my high-school class in civics, we were just taught that this was our Government, et cetera. They didn't get down there and make you believe it like they should have. I know that isn't the kind of question you are asking, but I have no information at all that individual Communists, or their groups, or the Communist Party as a whole has done which you would call of a subversive nature—or information that you don't already have. It was surprising to me when these things happened like the stuff about the Rosenbergs.

Mr. APPELL. Well, I know of nothing else at this time. There are probably others in the Grand Rapids area of whom you possess knowledge and about whom the committee could ask you, but the names that I went over with you today are all we have had time to prepare for.

I think with this that I will extend to you the thanks of the committee, and express its appreciation for the information you have made available to it.

Mr. SUMNER. Thank you. I wish I could have been of more help. I look back now and realize that I could have—if I had known—I could have jotted down names, and so on, but it never dawned on me that I would be in a position where it would be of any interest.

Mr. APPELL. Well, thank you again, and you are excused at this time.

(Whereupon, at 5:35 p. m., the executive session was adjourned subject to the call of the chairman.)

INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA—Part 3

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 14, 1954

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

EXECUTIVE SESSION ¹

The subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to call, at 10:35 a. m., Old House Office Building, room 225, Hon. Donald L. Jackson, acting chairman, presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives Donald L. Jackson and James B. Frazier, Jr.

Staff members present: Robert L. Kunzig, counsel; Thomas W. Beale, Sr., chief clerk; and Dolores Anderson, reporter.

Mr. JACKSON. Let the record show that a subcommittee has been appointed by the chairman, for the purpose of taking the testimony this morning, consisting of Mr. Frazier and Mr. Jackson, with the latter as acting chairman.

Will the witness rise and be sworn, please?

In the testimony you are about to give do you solemnly swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mrs. BURKE. I do.

Mr. JACKSON. Proceed, Mr. Kunzig.

Mr. KUNZIG. Will you state your full name for the record, please?

TESTIMONY OF FRANCES BURKE, ACCOMPANIED BY HER COUNSEL, DAVID REIN—Resumed

Mrs. BURKE. Frances Burke.

Mr. KUNZIG. Will counsel please identify himself?

Mr. REIN. David Rein, 711 14th Street, Washington, D. C.

Mr. KUNZIG. Is that "Mrs." Burke?

Mrs. BURKE. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mrs. Burke, you stated as your name, Frances Burke. Is that your full name? Do you have any middle name or maiden name?

Mrs. BURKE. My first name is Bertha. I never use it. My maiden name was Willard.

Mr. KUNZIG. Have you been married anytime previously?

Mrs. BURKE. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. What was your name at that time?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mrs. BURKE. I have been married several times.

Mr. KUNZIG. Could you give us that in the order in which it took place?

¹ Released by the committee.

Mrs. BURKE. Yes. Nields, Dessert, Decker, Copeland, and Burke.

Mr. KUNZIG. What is your present address?

Mrs. BURKE. 14 Pitt Street, apartment 4-B, New York City.

Mr. KUNZIG. Could you give the committee a brief résumé of your educational background?

Mrs. BURKE. I went to school in Pasadena, Calif., elementary school, junior high, and high school. And I graduated from high school.

Mr. KUNZIG. When did you graduate from high school?

Mrs. BURKE. 1932.

Mr. KUNZIG. What is your present age?

Mrs. BURKE. 38.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, could you give the committee a brief résumé of your employment background?

Mrs. BURKE. I was employed by Fanchon & Marco, the dancing team. I worked for the May Co. in Los Angeles, and I worked for the Santa Barbara News Press.

Mr. KUNZIG. When did you work for the Santa Barbara News Press?

Mrs. BURKE. 1935.

Mr. KUNZIG. In what capacity was that?

Mrs. BURKE. I was a clerical worker.

Mr. KUNZIG. Is that all you have done?

Mrs. BURKE. I worked for Sterns Department Store in New York City, the National City Bank, Security First National Bank in Los Angeles. Do you want all my places of employment?

Mr. KUNZIG. The main ones, shall we say.

Mrs. BURKE. The First National Bank in San Diego.

Mr. KUNZIG. When was that?

Mrs. BURKE. That was in 1940.

Mr. KUNZIG. Where are you employed now?

Mrs. BURKE. District 65 in New York City.

Mr. KUNZIG. Of what?

Mrs. BURKE. New York City, district 65. It is a union.

Mr. KUNZIG. Will you give us the title of the union?

Mrs. BURKE. DPOWA, the Distributing, Processing, Office Workers of America.

Mr. KUNZIG. In what capacity are you employed there?

Mrs. BURKE. I am a bookkeeper.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you tell us, in order, the places you resided, the year, and the year you left, from about 1938 on?

Mrs. BURKE. 1938 on?

Mr. KUNZIG. Roughly, from that time.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mrs. BURKE. Let's see. 1938; I was in Los Angeles, San Diego, and San Francisco.

Mr. KUNZIG. In all these different places at that time?

Mrs. BURKE. From 1938 on; yes. And Salinas.

Mr. KUNZIG. This was all in the year 1938?

Mrs. BURKE. Oh, no; you said 1938 on—1938 I was in Los Angeles. In 1939 I was in Los Angeles.

Mr. KUNZIG. Where did you live at that time?

Mrs. BURKE. My address?

Mr. KUNZIG. Yes; if you can recall.

Mrs. BURKE. Oh, dear—I am sorry, I don't remember the address.

Mr. KUNZIG. All right. Where were you in 1940?

Mrs. BURKE. In early 1940 I was still in Los Angeles. Late in 1940 I was in San Diego.

Mr. KUNZIG. In late 1940 you moved to San Diego?

Mrs. BURKE. That is correct.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you recall where you lived in San Diego? The address?

Mrs. BURKE. No; not the first one.

Mr. KUNZIG. How long did you stay in San Diego? What years?

Mrs. BURKE. 1940—late 1940, and I left in 1945.

Mr. KUNZIG. So you lived continuously in San Diego in late 1940 until 1945?

Mrs. BURKE. Correct.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now can you tell us, to the best of your memory, the address you had in San Diego in those 5 years?

Mrs. BURKE. The only street name I remember is Juniper Street, and I don't remember the number.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you live there the entire time?

Mrs. BURKE. No.

Mr. KUNZIG. Most of the time?

Mrs. BURKE. Yes; I would say so.

Mr. KUNZIG. You don't recall the street name or any number at all where you lived in the period of 5 years in San Diego?

Mrs. BURKE. Well, wait a minute. Part of that time I lived on Georgia Street.

Mr. KUNZIG. Georgia Street in San Diego?

Mrs. BURKE. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Were you married at that time in San Diego?

Mrs. BURKE. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Which one of those you have mentioned to us were you married to at that time?

Mrs. BURKE. Mr. Decker.

Mr. KUNZIG. That means you were Mrs. Decker then from 1940 to 1945?

Mrs. BURKE. That is correct.

Mr. KUNZIG. You mentioned—that was Mrs. Frances Decker. Is that the name you went by?

Mrs. BURKE. Yes; that is correct.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mrs. Decker, have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. BURKE. I decline to answer under the privilege of the fifth amendment.

Mr. KUNZIG. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. BURKE. I decline to answer.

Mr. KUNZIG. To make the record clear, you decline always on the grounds of the fifth amendment?

Mrs. BURKE. That is correct.

Mr. KUNZIG. You are invoking the fifth amendment in your refusal to answer the questions?

Mrs. BURKE. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Isn't it a fact that you held a position roughly from 1942 to 1945 of executive secretary of the Communist Party in San Diego?

Mrs. BURKE. I decline to answer.

Mr. KUNZIG. Weren't you, in fact, the person who called others to meetings of the Communist Party?

Mrs. BURKE. I decline to answer.

Mr. JACKSON. For the reason previously stated?

Mrs. BURKE. Yes; for the reason previously stated.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you send out the following letter to a group of alleged members of the Communist Party during that period of time?
[Reading:]

COMMUNIST POLITICAL ASSOCIATION.

DEAR MEMBER: We are trying to clear up our records in regard to dues payments in order that we may collect them quickly and pass on to more important business.

Our records show that you owe dues for the months of (May and June, C. P.), July, August, September. You still have the privilege of the \$5 payment for 6 months' dues. However, this will close on October 10. If you wish to take advantage of the saving, we urge that you either bring your payment to the office or the bookstore or mail it to us. We might add that this offer only holds good if you have made no dues payment since June.

We would appreciate your prompt attention to this; we would like very much to have a 100-percent dues-payment record through the end of the year. That way, none of us will be annoyed with notices or pleas and we can all start from scratch on January 1.

Fraternally yours,

FRANCES DECKER, *Executive Secretary.*

P. S.: Office hours are from 11 a. m. to 6 p. m. daily. The address is 832 Fifth Avenue, room 5. The bookstore is located at 635 E Street, and the name is the Community Book Center.

Mrs. Burke, did you send out such a letter to a group of alleged Communists in the San Diego area?

Mrs. BURKE. I decline to answer for the above aforesaid reason.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you ever have any connection with the address 832 Fifth Avenue, room 5?

Mrs. BURKE. I decline to answer.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you attend or frequent the bookstore located at 635 E Street?

Mrs. BURKE. I decline to answer.

Mr. KUNZIG. What information can you give the committee about the Community Book Center in San Diego?

Mrs. BURKE. I decline to answer.

Mr. KUNZIG. I am going to hand you a list of names which is marked "Decker Exhibit No. 1," for identification, and ask you if you know any of these people as members of the Communist Party?

Mrs. BURKE. I decline to answer.

Mr. JACKSON. For the reason previously stated, you decline to answer?

Mrs. BURKE. Yes.

(At this point Representative James B. Frazier, Jr., entered the hearing room.)

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you ever notify members of a meeting to be held at Harvey Hall, 1041 11th Avenue, San Diego, on the 28th of January, 1945?

Mrs. BURKE. I decline to answer for the reason previously stated.

Mr. KUNZIG. This room, in which you held the meeting for the purpose of nominating officers for the executive committee of the CPA—a letter signed by Frances Decker, executive secretary of the

CPA. It also lists it as a "must meeting." Did you send out such a letter?

Mrs. BURKE. I decline to answer for the reasons previously stated.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mrs. Burke, we feel the evidence this committee is in possession of shows you were executive secretary of the Communist Party when you were a part of it. You have already said you are the Frances Decker in San Diego at this period of time. We feel you have a great deal of evidence, particularly since you have been executive secretary, that would assist this committee in its work in investigating subversive activities throughout the country. You could give us this information if you wished to. I want to ask you once again—won't you please cooperate with this committee and give us the information that lies within your knowledge regarding the activities of the party within the San Diego area? Will you cooperate?

Mrs. BURKE. I am sorry, I decline to answer.

Mr. KUNZIG. On the fifth amendment? The grounds you gave before?

Mrs. BURKE. That is correct.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, I think further questions are probably useless under the circumstances.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Frazier, do you have any questions?

Mr. FRAZIER. No sir.

Mr. JACKSON. Is there any reason why the witness should not be excused?

Mr. KUNZIG. No sir.

Mr. JACKSON. Very well, you are excused.

(Whereupon, at 10:45 a. m.. Wednesday, April 14, 1954 the executive session ended.)

INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA—Part 3

FRIDAY, APRIL 23, 1954

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Los Angeles, Calif.

EXECUTIVE SESSION ¹

The subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to call, at 10 a. m., in room 1019, Western Pacific Building, 1030 North Broadway, Los Angeles, Calif., Hon. Donald L. Jackson (acting chairman), presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives Donald L. Jackson and Clyde Doyle.

Staff members present: Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel; and William A. Wheeler, investigator.

Mr. JACKSON. The committee will be in order.

Mrs. Foder, will you raise your right hand?

Do you solemnly swear that the evidence you shall give to this subcommittee shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mrs. FODER. I do.

Mr. JACKSON. Be seated, please.

Let the record show that for the purpose of taking testimony today the chairman of the committee has appointed a subcommittee consisting of Messrs. Scherer, Doyle, and Jackson. Mr. Scherer is absent, but a quorum of the subcommittee is present. Mr. Jackson is acting chairman.

Proceed, Mr. Tavenner.

TESTIMONY OF ELIZABETH FODER, ACCOMPANIED BY HER COUNSEL, BEN MARGOLIS

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your name, please?

Mrs. FODER. Elizabeth Foder, F-o-d-e-r.

Mr. MARGOLIS. Maybe you want this for the record: I am Ben Margolis, representing Mrs. Foder.

Mr. JACKSON. Thank you.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where were you born, Mrs. Foder?

Mrs. FODER. I was born in Budapest, Hungary.

¹ Released by the committee.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you come to this country?

Mrs. FODER. About 1909.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you a naturalized American citizen?

Mrs. FODER. No. I have citizenship by derivation.

Mr. TAVENNER. Through your father?

Mrs. FODER. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where was he naturalized?

Mrs. FODER. Well, I can't just remember right now, but I do have his certificate, as well as my own. I received a certificate showing citizenship by derivation.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee what your educational training has been?

Mrs. FODER. High school, business college, and a year of college.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where did you attend business college?

Mrs. FODER. In Cleveland, Ohio.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you complete that training?

Mrs. FODER. The business college? About 1918.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you state that you had other educational training after that?

Mrs. FODER. I did. I completed my high school in evening courses.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, how you have been employed since 1940?

Mrs. FODER. Approximately 1940 to 1944—I am not sure about the ending date—I was assistant clerk at the selective service board of the selective service, Lorain County.

Mr. TAVENNER. Lorain County, what State?

Mrs. FODER. Ohio.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where did you reside in Ohio?

Mrs. FODER. In Oberlin.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you live in Oberlin?

Mrs. FODER. Approximately 15 years.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you leave Oberlin?

Mrs. FODER. I left in 1946.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you come to California from Oberlin?

Mrs. FODER. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, if you will proceed to tell us of your other employment. Did you have other employment after 1940 in Oberlin?

Mrs. FODER. No, sir—yes; I did. Excuse me.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was it, please?

Mrs. FODER. I managed a consumers' co-op for 1 year.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is that all—

Mrs. FODER. That is all.

Mr. TAVENNER. In Oberlin?

Mrs. FODER. Right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where do you now reside?

Mrs. FODER. 2018 Oris.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is that in Los Angeles?

Mrs. FODER. That is Compton.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you lived there continually since 1946 when you arrived in California?

Mrs. FODER. No, sir; I came to Pomona.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you live in Pomona?

Mrs. FODER. I will have to say approximately 1952.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you employed in Pomona?

Mrs. FODER. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the nature of your employment?

Mrs. FODER. I was a typist-clerk.

Mr. TAVENNER. In what type of work?

Mrs. FODER. I was with the Pomona Health Center as a typist-clerk in the business office.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you employed there from 1946 until 1952?

Mrs. FODER. No, sir. I was employed there September 1949 to August 1952.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was your employment there prior to 1949?

Mrs. FODER. I had a part-time job during the registration, motor-vehicle registration. I was cashier and, oh, sort of checking the cashier's work.

Mr. TAVENNER. What has been the nature of your employment at Compton since 1952?

Mrs. FODER. I am in the division of vital records. I check for accuracy and clerical errors, death records, and birth records. I share this work with a person who is my senior. I am in a subordinate capacity. It is clerical work.

Mr. JACKSON. May I ask, is that employment with the State of California?

Mrs. FODER. No, county.

Mr. JACKSON. County of Los Angeles?

Mrs. FODER. Yes.

Mr. JACKSON. Thank you.

Mr. TAVENNER. In 1948—

Mr. JACKSON. Excuse me. Mr. Counsel, in view of the limited facilities for consultation, if at any time you feel you want to go outside and consult with your client, it will be quite all right.

Mr. MARGOLIS. Thank you.

Mr. TAVENNER. If I understand your testimony correctly, you were employed by the State of California in the health department, in the work of the health department.

Mrs. FODER. That is the county. It is the county. I thought you said State.

Mr. TAVENNER. I did. Then—

Mrs. FODER. I have part-time work—now, the motor vehicles is a State—State of California Motor Vehicles. That was simply part-time work. I did a little part-time work in the city attorney's office. His secretary got ill and I substituted there about 3 weeks.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was that at Pomona?

Mrs. FODER. Yes. But that wasn't permanent work; just a fill-in on illness.

Mr. TAVENNER. You held those positions between 1946 and 1949?

Mrs. FODER. Yes. In other words, up to 1949 I held no position. I wasn't interested in work, particularly, and it did come in handy to earn some extra money, and I did. These things came along, I heard of them, and I applied.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you knowingly been a member of the Communist Party at any time since September 10, 1948?

Mr. MARGOLIS. May I ask a question? Do you have any information that she has been?

Mr. TAVENNER. I have just asked the question.

Mrs. FODER. I am ready to answer. While I have done nothing wrong, I shall not answer that question. I am invoking the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you knowingly a member of the Communist Party while you resided in Oberlin, Ohio?

Mrs. FODER. That will have to be the same answer.

Mr. JACKSON. For the same reason?

Mrs. FODER. For the same reason.

Mr. JACKSON. I am not prompting the witness, but I wish to make it clear that in an answer—it will be adequate to say, "The same answer for the same reasons," but I want to be sure that it is all there.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you knowingly a member of any organization in Oberlin, Ohio, which advocated the use of force and violence as a method of overthrowing the Government of the United States, or of any State?

Mrs. FODER. To my knowledge, I have never belonged to any group or organization that advocated the violent overthrow of the Government, nor had I ever been incited or in any way involved in such a thought, as a thought, even; nor have I ever entertained a thought. The whole thought is repugnant to my nature.

Mr. TAVENNER. My question was not what your personal belief may be, but whether or not you were a member of an organization which to your knowledge advocated the use of force and violence.

Mrs. FODER. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you familiar, while living in Oberlin, Ohio with the basic principles of the Communist Party?

Mrs. FODER. I cannot or will not answer questions about the Communist Party for reasons as previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you not aware that one of the basic tenets of the Communist Party is to advocate the use of force and violence in the overthrow of the Government?

Mrs. FODER. I refuse to answer that question, as I have never knowingly advocated such a thing, or belonged to such a group, so I must refuse to answer it on the same grounds as before.

Mr. TAVENNER. While you were living in Pomona did you become aware of the existence of a branch of the Communist Party, and did you become a member of a branch of the Communist Party, in what is known as the Ontario-Pomona-Claremont area of California, knowing that such an organization was a branch of the Communist Party?

Mrs. FODER. I refuse to answer this on the same grounds as the other questions that are relating to the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you now knowingly a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. FODER. Same answer, again.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Doyle?

Mr. DOYLE. No question.

Mr. JACKSON. If there is nothing further, the witness may be excused from further attendance, under the subpoena. Thank you.

(Whereupon the witness was excused.)

Mr. WHEELER. Mrs. Fowler.

Mr. JACKSON. Will you please raise your right hand?

Do you solemnly swear that the evidence you shall give to this subcommittee shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mrs. FOWLER. I do.

Mr. JACKSON. Be seated, please.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your name, please?

TESTIMONY OF EDA C. FOWLER

Mrs. FOWLER. Eda C. Fowler, F-o-w-l-e-r.

Mr. TAVENNER. It is noted that you do not have counsel with you. It is the practice of the committee to advise every witness that they have the right to consult counsel, if they desire, at any time during the questioning, or to have counsel with them.

Mrs. FOWLER. I understand.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you desire to proceed without counsel?

Mrs. FOWLER. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where were you born, Mrs. Fowler.

Mrs. FOWLER. In Chicago, Ill.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where do you now reside?

Mrs. FOWLER. At 1835 Longwood Avenue, Los Angeles 19.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you lived in Los Angeles?

Mrs. FOWLER. Since 1919.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you been known by the name of Eda C. Fowler?

Mrs. FOWLER. My name is Eda C. Fowler. Well, I married Mr. Fowler in 1950, I think it was—been 4 years in August.

Mr. TAVENNER. When?

Mrs. FOWLER. Four years in August.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was your name prior to your marriage to Mr. Fowler?

Mrs. FOWLER. Eda Johnston.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell Johnston?

Mrs. FOWLER. J-o-h-n-s-t-o-n.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was that your married name at that time?

Mrs. FOWLER. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. When were you married to Mr. Johnston?

Mrs. FOWLER. In 1941.

Mr. TAVENNER. By what name were you known prior to 1941?

Mrs. FOWLER. Fogerlund, F-o-g-e-r-l-u-n-d.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you known by another name?

Mrs. FOWLER. My maiden name is Corlin, C-o-r-l-i-n.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did it have another spelling besides the one you have given us?

Mrs. FOWLER. The name Corlin?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mrs. FOWLER. I believe that my father said that originally the German spelling was K-o-e-r-l-i-n.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, briefly what your educational training has been?

Mrs. FOWLER. I went through high school in Chicago. I have studied music and I have studied shorthand, and full commercial course here in Los Angeles. I can type and take dictation.

Mr. TAVENNER. What has been your employment since 1940?

Mrs. FOWLER. I am at present unemployed. In 1946 I took a position with the Los Angeles County. I was referred there by the State unemployment office.

I, previous to that, was unemployed due to a fall I had taken in my home, which lamed me.

Prior to that I was a waitress at various places, for a year here and a year there.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you name some of the places where you were engaged as a waitress?

Mrs. FOWLER. I worked at the Eleda on 43d and Crenshaw. I worked at the May Co. Wilshire. I worked at Ginger's Coffee Shop.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where was that located?

Mrs. FOWLER. Ginger's Coffee Shop?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mrs. FOWLER. Near the corner of Washington and Rimpau.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the period of your employment there?

Mrs. FOWLER. Well, I know that it was after the time came that I was—it was sometime in 1942, I believe.

Mr. TAVENNER. For how long a period were you employed there?

Mrs. FOWLER. I don't remember exactly. I believe there were two periods. I worked there for a while, I believe, and then didn't work and then worked there again. I believe that that was the period that in between I worked for the Western Stove Co., working with B-54's. did skinning and riveting and drilling, things of that kind, making airplanes. And that was in—I believe I began there in August of 1942 and continued to March or April of '43, I believe. I quit because of an aluminum rash. I got a doctor's certificate to that effect, that I was getting it in my eyes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Mrs. Edith Macia M-a-c-i-a?

Mrs. FOWLER. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that it may incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you at any time a member of the West Adams branch or club of the Communist Party in Los Angeles?

Mrs. FOWLER. Yes; I was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was Mrs. Macia a member of that club, also?

Mrs. FOWLER. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that it may incriminate me.

Tr. TAVENNER. Well, I understood you to say that you were a member of the West Adams Club.

Mrs. FOWLER. I was at one time a member of the West Adams branch of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. You do not have the benefit of counsel, but it is difficult for me to understand that having admitted membership in that club of the Communist Party, as to how it could possibly incriminate you to advise the committee regarding the membership in that group of Mrs. Macia or to admitting having known her.

Mrs. FOWLER. I do not know how it might incriminate me, but I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that it might incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long were you a member of that club or group of the Communist Party?

Mrs. FOWLER. I joined the Communist Party in 1938. I had gravitated towards it, I imagine, as I look back, since 1930. I severed my connection with the Communist Party—I don't remember the exact time; it was, I am sure, at least 4 years that I was a member, but it may have been a little longer. I drifted away from it. I don't remember exactly when I decided that I was just too busy or too distinterested and too much in disagreement with the Communist Party to further have any connection with it. I am sure that it was after 1942. It may have been in '43. It may even have been as late as '44. But I think that that is about the limit.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, will you tell the committee, please, the circumstances under which you became a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. FOWLER. Well, I had been seeking and searching for a solution for what seemed to me at that time, and for many years, a solution to the decline of the American people, of that day, surely, the unemployment problem. I had been laughed out of the unemployment office on the ground that I was too old when I was 29 in 1930. The gentleman says, "What? 29? You are too old." And I tried to understand why there should be that much unemployment.

It seemed to me it would be good for the country if there was lots of employment; certainly better for me. My children were—I think my boy was a year old and my husband was in the hospital, and my daughter was only about three and a half. This was in 1930. She was born in '28. My husband was in the hospital with phlebitis, which laid him off his work for many months.

And I remember—I think I tried charity. I did get some individual charity from some very fine neighbors and friends of people that worked with my husband. And I tried F. D. R. in 1932. I thought that would solve it. I tried Upton Sinclair in 1934, and Utopians, I think, in 1935.

And during that period from 19—I guess this was 1933, when Upton Sinclair first began to run, talked of running on the Democratic ticket for Governor of California, and he went wholeheartedly into the theory that unemployment might be solved by that procedure of trying it on the "dog," as he said at that time. "You don't want the unemployed and you can't find anywhere to put them, let's put them to work producing for themselves and then they will not be a burden on you and they will not be going hungry."

And I found that all these things were called Communistic. And I many times heard Mr. Sinclair say that he was not Communistic and that he had nothing to do with communism and was opposed to communism, and that the Communists were opposed to him.

And from what reading I had done I couldn't understand where they were opposed to him and he opposed to them and why they said the things they said and why he said the things he said. I had never heard one talk, so I didn't know. But I was curious.

And during all that time, billboards, churches, everybody—I can remember one sermon; I went to church and the minister's topic, the topic of her sermon was Can You Be a Christian and Vote for Upton Sinclair? And his answer was that no, you couldn't, and that struck me as strange, because I had read the Bible and it seemed to me there was nothing un-Christian in Upton Sinclair's way of trying to end unemployment.

So finally curiosity got the best of me, and my father and myself. I told my father, I says, "This thing is getting under my skin. I would like to know what the Communists say. I would like to hear one." So I sought them out. I didn't know then they were in the telephone book. I thought you had to go sneaking around and see you could find one. I didn't know you could look them up in the telephone book.

Mr. TAVENNER. When was it that you sought them out and became a member?

Mrs. FOWLER. It was in August of 1938, I believe.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where were you living at that time?

Mrs. FOWLER. At 1835 Longwood Avenue.

Mr. TAVENNER. To what group of the Communist Party were you assigned when you became a member?

Mrs. FOWLER. Well, first it was just a little study group. There was just a group of people that were not any more than I was, a member. I wasn't assigned to anything. I just went when there was some discussion to take place, tell us about what their beliefs were and finally, after several weeks, we were requested to join, formally join the party; and I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you a State or County employee at any time during the period of your membership in the Communist Party?

Mrs. FOWLER. No.

Mr. JACKSON. May I interrupt a moment? My understanding of the testimony to this time is to the effect that the witness acknowledged her own membership in the Communist Party, but refuses to give any information as to those with whom she is associated.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have only asked her regarding her possible acquaintanceship with Mrs. Macia. I asked her if she was acquainted with Mrs. Macia and the witness refused to answer the question on the ground that to do so might tend to incriminate her.

Mr. JACKSON. In the absence of counsel for the witness, did the committee counsel inform her of—

Mr. TAVENNER. I informed the witness that as she had admitted membership in the West Adams branch of the Communist Party, I did not see how it could possibly incriminate her to admit acquaintanceship with Mrs. Macia. I did not advise her that she had waived the right to rely upon the fifth amendment by having admitted her membership. I did not explain that to her.

Mr. JACKSON. I should want to have that appear in the record at this time; and I think the failure to so indicate in the record would be an error on our part. There have been findings in court that in answering questions, certain questions relating to membership in the Communist Party and then declining to furnish the details as to that membership and these activities in effect waive the immunity provided by the fifth amendment and furnish the basis for possible citation for contempt of Congress, in the discretion of the committee.

Do you understand the purport of what I have said?

Mrs. FOWLER. No; I do not, sir.

Mr. JACKSON. That is to say that one cannot admit a certain portion of his or her activities and then decline to answer questions relating to other activities.

Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. DOYLE. I think the record should show that you have returned to the hearing room after just being absent a few minutes.

Mr. JACKSON. Let us read into the record at this time the time of my departure from the hearing room and my return.

Mr. WHEELER. Congressman Jackson left at 10:20 and returned at 10:35.

Mr. JACKSON. Very well. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. What the chairman has explained to you is that having admitted membership in the Communist Party you cannot decline now to give the committee all the information you have relating to your activities within the Communist Party, and that of other people, without the possibility of your being dealt with by Congress as being in contempt of Congress.

Mrs. FOWLER. You are giving me this as legal information?

Mr. TAVENNER. So that you may fully understand.

Mrs. FOWLER. This is true that—I mean, you state that is true, that cannot exercise the fifth amendment at this point?

Mr. TAVENNER. After having admitted your Communist Party membership.

Mr. JACKSON. Let me clarify that. You may exercise the fifth amendment from this point on, but the legality of the use of the fifth amendment is in serious question. I would not want the record to show that we have deprived you of the right to use it, but I do feel that you should be warned that the use of it may be found to be an illegal use of the fifth amendment.

Mrs. FOWLER. It may be found?

Mr. JACKSON. It may be found.

Mr. TAVENNER. That has been the decision of the courts, that you would be no longer protected by the fifth amendment if you once legally waived it.

Mrs. FOWLER. Can you give me the legal references to that?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes. The Rogers case is one of the cases that so called, Jane Rogers case.

Mr. JACKSON. Very well. I think the point has been established, Mr. Counsel.

The committee will suspend.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. JACKSON. On the record.

Mr. DOYLE. I suggest this, Mr. Chairman, that the witness is here without counsel, and I would assume from her question to Mr. Tavenner, when she was informed that she possibly had waived her protection of the fifth amendment by volunteering she was a member of the Communist Party, I suggest we postpone any further hearing in this matter until a later date, so that if you want to have counsel in the interim and come back. But at some time in the future we feel it would be advisable that you consult legal counsel, because this is a committee of Congress and we don't want any American citizen to be left in the position in which he does not understand his constitutional right.

Mrs. FOWLER. Would the public defender be available to me under these circumstances?

Mr. DOYLE. I don't know. Mr. Chairman?

Mr. JACKSON. I don't know whether the public defender would be available or not. That question has never, since I have been a member of the committee, come up.

However, the feeling of the subcommittee is that you have embarked upon a course of answers which might conceivably place you in jeopardy. The committee is of the opinion that to proceed in that high with the witness without benefit of counsel, would not be the best course of action to pursue.

In other words, this is being done by the committee in fairness to you; and unless there is an objection, or unless the witness herself desires to proceed, the Chair would direct that the subpoena be extended until such time as it would be possible to call the witness back, accompanied by counsel.

Mrs. FOWLER. Well, I do not wish to spend money for counsel. If counsel can be provided for me, I would be glad to accept it. I have no money to spend for counsel at this time.

Mr. DOYLE. Then do we understand that even if this meeting was postponed to a later date you wouldn't want to be left in the position where you had to employ private counsel, but if there was some public lawyer or some public defender available, you might want to consult him? We don't know whether the public defender's office furnishes counsel to witnesses before us.

Mr. JACKSON. The committee will stand in recess for about 5 minutes.

(Short recess was taken.)

Mr. JACKSON. On the record. The committee will reconvene.

It is the opinion of the subcommittee that you should not be permitted to proceed without benefit of counsel. And it is suggested that you may be able to procure such counsel at the Civil Liberties Union here in the city of Los Angeles.

The subpoena will be extended. You will be notified at a future date as to the time and place of the next hearing. And I stress again that we are doing this in your interest and not out of any selfish interest of the committee. We could, under the rules of the committee, have properly proceeded at this time with the interrogation. But to do so might seriously prejudice your rights, might lead into a course of action which might conceivably result in further action by the Congress in this case.

With that, the witness is excused and the subpoena will be extended until a future date, and you will receive notification. I am sure that you can find the address of the Civil Liberties Union in the telephone book, and you are advised to obtain the services of counsel at the earliest convenient moment.

(Whereupon the witness was excused.)

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. Breger.

Mr. JACKSON. Will you please raise your right hand?

Do you solemnly swear that the evidence you shall give to this subcommittee shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. BREGER. I do.

Mr. JACKSON. Be seated, please.

TESTIMONY OF LEO I. BREGER, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL.
DANIEL G. MARSHALL

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your name, please?

Mr. MARSHALL. Excuse me.

Mr. JACKSON. Off the record.

Mr. MARSHALL. I would like this to be on the record, Mr. Jackson. I would like the record to show that Mr. Breger desires to have present his wife, who accompanied him here this morning, and just before we got on the record now we asked permission to have Mrs. Breger and the Chair ruled that she should not be present and, accordingly, excluded her from the hearing. Is that correct, Mr. Jackson?

Mr. JACKSON. Yes; with the further addenda that the policy of the committee has been that executive hearings should be entirely executive in nature and confined to counsel and witness.

Mr. DOYLE. And I suggest, Mr. Chairman, too, that further, we have our policy which is not to allow any situation to develop before our committee which may involve the confidential relationship between husband and wife before our committee.

Mr. MARSHALL. May I have that statement of Mr. Doyle's read?

Mr. JACKSON. Yes, the reporter will read it.

(The record was read.)

Mr. MARSHALL. Now, before the——

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Marshall, I don't want to unduly labor this, but the rules of the committee, of course, are that counsel shall counsel with the witness and advise him upon his constitutional rights, but shall not make motions or argue questions with the committee.

Mr. MARSHALL. Mr. Jackson——

Mr. JACKSON. I leaned over backwards on the opening statement because I didn't want to get controversy into the record, but at this point I must ask committee counsel to proceed with the questioning of the witness.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your name, please?

Mr. BREGER. Leo I. Breger, B-r-e-g-e-r.

Mr. JACKSON. At this point I should also like to inform counsel that the consultation facilities in the room are very limited and if at any time he desires to consult outside the room, I hope counsel and the witness will feel free to do so.

Mr. MARSHALL. We will avail ourselves of that right if the occasion should arise.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you accompanied by counsel, Mr. Breger?

Mr. BREGER. I am.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will counsel please identify himself for the record?

Mr. MARSHALL. Daniel G. Marshall, 1151 South Broadway, Los Angeles.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born, Mr. Breger?

Mr. BREGER. Mr. Counsel, Mr. Jackson, I just wonder if I might ask that I be given the right to object to this executive session, the character of it, and that I think a public session would be more to my interest and the interest of the committee's activities; and that my objection to the executive session be noted in the record.

Mr. JACKSON. It is so noted in the record.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where and when were you born?

Mr. BREGER. October 29, 1910, New York City.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where do you now reside?

Mr. BREGER. 3547 Federal Avenue, Los Angeles 34.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you lived in Los Angeles?

Mr. BREGER. Since 1934.

Mr. TAVENNER. Prior to that time did you reside in New York City?

Mr. BREGER. I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, what your formal educational training has been?

Mr. BREGER. I took a bachelor-of-science-degree course with the New York University and West Virginia University.

Mr. TAVENNER. Would you mind giving the dates of the completion of your work at those two institutions?

Mr. BREGER. I believe New York University was from 1928 to 1931; West Virginia University I attended the following year, 1932, but didn't receive my degree until I had completed some Army service many years later. I received my degree from West Virginia, given my credits from the Army training I received. They accepted that. I think I got my degree in 1947, which was a little belated, but very welcome. And took a year of graduate work, University of Southern California, and Social Work School, and received a certificate of social work from the University of Southern California in 1948.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long were you in the armed services of the United States?

Mr. BREGER. I think precisely a little more than 10 months—under a year, less than a year.

Mr. TAVENNER. And what was that date, approximately?

Mr. BREGER. Yes. It was from about April 1945 until January of 1946.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your present occupation, trade, or employment?

Mr. BREGER. I am employed as a social case worker with the Los Angeles County Department of Charities.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, what the nature of your employment has been since 1934, when you first came to California?

Mr. BREGER. May I consult with counsel?

Mr. JACKSON. Surely.

(At this point Mr. Breger conferred with Mr. Marshall.)

Mr. BREGER. Beginning in 1944, when I first came here, a varied history, I was on WPA. I worked for myself. I had a sort of junk business for several years. Unemployed for some time. And I believe I got my first civil-service job with the War Department in 1940 here at Eighth and Figueroa. They were beginning to increase their personnel.

Mr. TAVENNER. Excuse me. I didn't get the date.

Mr. BREGER. I believe it was 1940. I took an examination as a clerk and was called to work for them. I believe the office was at Eighth and Figueroa. That is a branch of the Army called the Corps of Engineers. And I worked for them and was promoted to an engineering aide and—let's see. The war started in 1941. Yes, I worked for them a little over a year, until 1942, when I asked for my release, because the Government was asking for people who worked in war

actories and I felt we were more or less overstaffed, and I was granted permission—at that time I think you had to ask permission to leave our employment because the jobs were frozen.

I went to work in a small machine shop to learn to become a machinist, and in 1942–44 I worked for different aircraft—Timm Aircraft, working on small parts of aircraft. And in 1945 I volunteered for the Army, and the draft board tried to dissuade me, and finally accepted my offer and I was in the Army from March or April of 1945 until January of 1946. Went to work for the department of charities March of 1946, and have been there since.

Mr. JACKSON. You received an honorable discharge from the Army?

Mr. BREGER. I did, and, in addition, some excellent training which utilized to complete my formal education, good enough to help me complete my formal education.

Mr. TAVENNER. Has your work since 1946 with the government—is it State or county?

Mr. BREGER. County employees. Los Angeles County is our employer. Since 1946 I have worked continually for the same agency, or the same kind of work.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Breger, the committee has received testimony from Harold G. Ashe that approximately in the year 1935 there was formed in the city of Los Angeles a professional group of the Communist Party, and that from that time on the Communist Party organization consisted of what was known as a downtown group of the Communist Party in Los Angeles, and certain professional cells.

Were you a member of either of those groups of the Communist Party? That is, were you knowingly a member of the Communist Party in one or the other of those groups at that time?

Mr. BREGER. May I consult with counsel?

Mr. JACKSON. Yes; please do.

(At this point Mr. Breger conferred with Mr. Marshall.)

Mr. BREGER. Mr. Jackson, Mr. Doyle, I believe Mr. Tavenner asked me a question, and I decline to answer this question for the following reason: That this question, I feel, is an invasion of my rights as a decent, self-respecting American citizen, and I would degrade myself and my family if I permitted this committee or any other committee to pry into my ideas and associations. The first and fifth amendments of our Bill of Rights afford the protection against such an invasion of my basic constitutional rights, and I decline to answer by reason of my rights under these amendments.

Moreover, my invocation of the fifth amendment does not allow you or anyone else to infer any guilt or criminal proclivities on my part.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Breger, I have before me a photostatic copy of an affidavit of change of registration under date purportedly signed by you, under date of January 28, 1936.

I hand it to you and ask you if you will identify that as constituting copy of the original which you executed.

Mr. BREGER. Mr. Jackson, Mr. Tavenner. I decline to answer this question on the same grounds that I stated in answer to the previous question.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer the document in evidence and ask that it be marked "Breger Exhibit No. 1."

Mr. JACKSON. It may be received.

(Affidavit of change of registration, January 28, 1936, was marked "Breger Exhibit No. 1.")¹

Mr. TAVENNER. It is noted from the face of the document, under item 9, the following:

I intend to affiliate at the ensuing primary election with the Republican Party underneath which appears,

Change to Communist, May 21, 193 —

and the last figure of the year is not discernible.

Did you change registration to that of the Communist Party?

Mr. MARSHALL. May I see that document again?

Mr. JACKSON. You may.

Mr. MARSHALL. May we have that question read?

(The question was read.)

Mr. BREGER. This question, Mr. Tavenner, I decline to answer on the same grounds that I have given previously to the first question.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, may I just observe this: As I look at the same photostat of the record which the witness and his counsel have observed, as long as the date which our committee counsel has called attention to, the last figure of it is not discernible, I think this photostat exhibit just offered clearly shows that it is subscribed and sworn before Adelaïd M. Mellon, deputy registrar of voters, on January 28, 1936. That would apparently fix the date upon which the signature was affixed to that registration.

Mr. TAVENNER. Immediately below the notation

Change to Communist, May 21, 193 —

with a figure not discernible, appears the following words:

Canceled by transfer to 1503, 6-3-38,

indicating June 3, 1938.

Will you tell the committee, please, to what voting precinct—

May I change the question, please?

Immediately under the notation "Change to Communist, 5-2-193 —," which the last figure not discernible, it appears that the registration was canceled by transfer to Precinct 1503 on June 3, 1938.

Will you tell the committee, please, whether or not you registered at any later date than June 3, 1938, as a Communist?

Mr. BREGER. I decline to answer this question for the reasons given previously, Mr. Tavenner.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Breger, I hand you a photostatic copy of an oath and affidavit purportedly signed by you and sworn to on the 26th day of July 1948, before Earl Lippold, county clerk, or, rather before Marian Doran, deputy county clerk.

Now, I will ask you to examine the document and state whether or not you executed the original thereof.

Mr. BREGER. To that question, Mr. Tavenner, I decline to answer on the same basis as I have declined previously.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer this in evidence, the photostatic copy of the oath and affidavit, and ask that it be marked "Breger Exhibit No. 2."

Mr. JACKSON. It will be admitted.

¹ Retained in committee files.

(Copy of oath and affidavit, July 26, 1948, was marked "Breger Exhibit No. 2.")²

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Breger, it is noted, upon examination of the document, Breger exhibit No. 2, that section D provides as follows:

Membership in organizations: I do further swear or affirm that I have never been a member of, or directly or indirectly supported or followed any of the hereinafter listed organizations except those that I indicate by an X mark.

And there appear several pages of names of organizations, among them being American Communist Party. There appears no check mark indicating an answer to that question.

Will you tell the committee, please, why it was that you did not answer that question in your oath and affidavit?

Mr. BREGER. Excuse me just a moment.

(At this point Mr. Berger conferred with Mr. Marshall.)

Mr. BREGER. Mr. Tavenner, I decline to answer that question for the reasons given to the answer of my first question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Berger, have you at any time since September 10, 1948, knowingly been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BREGER. I decline to answer that question on the basis of the answer given previously.

Mr. TAVENNER. It is not true that you failed to answer the question D in the oath and affidavit because of the fact that you were at that time or had been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BREGER. Same question, same answer, Mr. Tavenner.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you at any time since September 10, 1948, knowingly a member of any organization with knowledge that it advocated the forceful and violent overthrow of the Government of the United States, or any State?

Mr. BREGER. I decline to answer on the basis of the fifth-amendment protection, Mr. Tavenner.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BREGER. Just a minute. I want to amend my last answer. In addition to the fifth amendment, the other grounds which I have stated previously in the answer to the first question, all my grounds, and that answer I want to hold true for this particular question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BREGER. That is essentially the same question, and I reply with the same answer, Mr. Tavenner.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Breger, are you aware of the employment by the county of Los Angeles of any person or persons known to be members of the Communist Party?

Mr. BREGER. I must decline to answer that question on the basis of the answer given previously.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Doyle?

Mr. DOYLE. No questions.

Mr. JACKSON. The witness is excused from further attendance—

Mr. MARSHALL. There are reporters present—

Mr. JACKSON. Just a moment. Off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

² Retained in committee files.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Marshall, you started to say there were reporters present. You don't mean reporters present in this executive hearing, they are outside this individual room.

Mr. MARSHALL. Yes.

Mr. JACKSON. You are under no restriction.

(Whereupon the witness was excused.)

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. Dunkel.

Mr. JACKSON. Will you please raise your right hand?

Do you solemnly swear that the evidence you shall give to this subcommittee shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. DUNKEL. I do.

Mr. JACKSON. Be seated, please.

TESTIMONY OF JOHN DUNKEL

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your name, please, sir?

Mr. DUNKEL. John Dunkel, D-u-n-k-e-l.

Mr. TAVENNER. It is noted that you are not accompanied by counsel.

Mr. DUNKEL. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. The committee wants you to understand that you are perfectly free to consult counsel at any time during your interrogation and to have counsel with you if you so desire.

Mr. DUNKEL. Well, I don't really believe there is any necessity for it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you appear here pursuant to a subpoena served upon you, or are you appearing voluntarily?

Mr. DUNKEL. I am appearing voluntarily.

Mr. TAVENNER. I believe you have written a letter to the committee stating certain facts within your knowledge and requesting that the committee hear you.

Mr. DUNKEL. That is correct.

Mr. DOYLE. May I ask this, in view of that, Mr. Counsel:

Have you in any way, directly or any other way, been offered any reward or pay or inducement for appearing here voluntarily this morning?

Mr. DUNKEL. No, not at all.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born, Mr. Dunkel?

Mr. DUNKEL. Springfield, Ohio, February 21, 1915.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you give the committee, please, a brief statement of your formal educational training?

Mr. DUNKEL. I am a high-school graduate. I attended Wittenberg College in Springfield, Ohio, for 1 year. And that is all the formal educational training I have had.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your profession, trade, or occupation?

Mr. DUNKEL. I am a writer.

Mr. TAVENNER. In what general field?

Mr. DUNKEL. Well, I have been mostly in radio, radio writer and editor.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where do you now reside?

Mr. DUNKEL. 1933 Holly Drive, Hollywood.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you lived in California?

Mr. DUNKEL. Well, I first came here in 1933, and I have actually made it my home since that time, although I have been away for several months at a time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you give the committee, please, just a brief statement of your employment since you have been in California?

Mr. DUNKEL. At first I—my first job in California was as play reader at the Pasadena Community Playhouse. And then I did free-lance radio writing until about 1940, when I was employed by the Columbia Broadcasting System. And I worked for them until 1945.

Then I left to free lance for a year or so and went back to Columbia Broadcasting System in 1946, and was with them until 1949. Since that time I have been again doing some free-lance work, and also attempting to write a book.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, what some of your principal radio-writing credits have been?

Mr. DUNKEL. Well, I Was There—that was in my earlier association with Columbia, The Whistler, and later Escape, and I was editor of Suspense. There were others, of course, but those are the principal ones.

Mr. TAVENNER. It may be just as well that I ask you to tell the committee in your own words what you desire to state about your knowledge of the Communist Party activities, principally in the field of radio writing.

Mr. DUNKEL. Well, my actual knowledge is set forth pretty much in the letter which I wrote. I was approached in April of 1944 to join the Communist Party, and although I was certainly not a convinced Communist, I was curious mainly, and I finally agreed to join by signing a pledge card; and I attended two meetings of the Hollywood Radio Club.

Mr. TAVENNER. Let me interrupt you there. It may be well at this point to tell the committee a little more in detail the circumstances under which you joined the party.

Mr. DUNKEL. Well, I was contacted by Sam Moore, whom I knew, of course, because I was a member of the Radio Writers' Guild council.

Mr. TAVENNER. What position did Sam Moore hold at that time in the Radio Writers' Council?

Mr. DUNKEL. Well, he has held a lot, and I believe at that time that he was western vice president, but I cannot be absolutely certain. At any rate, he was a member of the council.

Mr. TAVENNER. And the leader in the entire field of radio, was he not?

Mr. DUNKEL. That is right, yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Go ahead.

Mr. DUNKEL. And he contacted me. Well, actually, it was through Dwight Hauser, who also worked at CBS. and Dwight said that Sam wanted to talk to me. And I understood at that point that Dwight was a member of the party. So I had a luncheon date with Sam Moore and he talked with me about it and asked me to join, put it as a great honor.

Mr. TAVENNER. I think I should interrupt you at this moment to let the record show that Mr. Dwight Hauser has testified before the committee, has fully cooperated with it, and, according to his testimony, withdrew from the party quite some years ago.

Mr. DUNKEL. I think that is true; yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. And that Mr. Sam Moore was subpoenaed as a witness before the committee and refused to answer material questions on the grounds that to do so might tend to incriminate him.

All right, sir.

Mr. DUNKEL. I had quite a lot of respect for Sam Moore at this time, because he had been a leader in the guild and had accomplished a great deal for the guild, and so I was inclined to listen to what he had to say. And although I was not, as I say, convinced by any means, and I asked him if I—I would like to come to one meeting as an observer and see if it was anything that I would be interested in, and he said that wasn't possible and that signing the pledge card would be a requirement. And, as I say, I was curious.

Mr. TAVENNER. And you also, as I understand, felt flattered by a man in the position of Sam Moore having this personal conference with you when you were just a young writer at the time.

Mr. DUNKEL. That is right.

Mr. DOYLE. What was his position in the guild at that time that flattered you?

Mr. DUNKEL. As I say, I can't remember exactly whether he was the vice president of the western region or simply a member of the council. But, at any rate, he was the acknowledged leader of the guild on the west coast.

Mr. DOYLE. Thank you.

Mr. DUNKEL. Also, he had a rather good position as a radio writer. He was very well known, a very well known writer.

Mr. TAVENNER. All right, if you will proceed, please.

Mr. DUNKEL. Well, as I say, I signed the card and went to the first meeting, and I didn't like what I saw and I was not favorably impressed.

My mind is very hazy on the time element. I am not sure whether they were held every week or every other week, but, at any rate, I am sure I missed the next meeting. I didn't go to it. And I was approached by two of the people and asked to come back. They obviously realized that I was not very enthusiastic, at any rate.

And so I agreed to go back to one more meeting. And I had exactly the same impression at the second meeting. And the following Saturday I went to an executive committee meeting, which I had heard was in progress, and I there told them that I could not be a member and that I wanted my name taken off of their membership list.

Now, as I understand it, they didn't take it off for some time; and I was later dropped for nonpayment of dues. But, actually, I had never paid any dues, and had never been actively involved, except to attend those two meetings.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who were the two persons that approached you about attending the second meeting?

Mr. DUNKEL. Henry Blankfort and Pauline Lauber.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was it that you saw in the two meetings that you attended which resulted in your change in attitude about becoming or remaining a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. DUNKEL. Mostly in the general attitude and the way things were handled. Now, I might call your attention to the fact that this was April 1944, and it was at the height of the peace offensive, the Browder—I don't know what it would be called, maybe a love feast—

everything was wonderful with America, and they stressed future cooperation, and so forth.

And, as a matter of fact, the only vote I ever cast in the party was to dissolve the party and form the Communist Political Association, I believe it was called. So it was right at that point. Nothing that was said in either of those two meetings seemed to me to be dangerous or subversive at all, because they were saying exactly the things that lots of other people were saying. There was no talk of revolution, or if it was anything like that that was mentioned, it was that there was an end to that sort of thing, that from now on everything would be cooperation.

Therefore, it wasn't exactly what was said, but the way the whole thing was handled. It was handled dictatorially, and, well, we were kind of preached to as if we couldn't think for ourselves. And there was no argument allowed, and very little discussion. And this was not my idea of the way a political discussion should be handled, and it confirmed in my mind criticisms which I had heard but didn't quite believe or wasn't sure about.

Now they were confirmed in my mind and I felt that the critics of the Communist Party were probably right. And, therefore, the curiosity that had prompted my looking in it was pretty well satisfied.

MR. TAVENNER. In other words, you appear to have entered the Communist Party with certain mental reservations in your mind—

MR. DUNKEL. Very definitely.

MR. TAVENNER. And finally resolved those reservations against the Communist Party.

MR. DUNKEL. Very quickly, yes.

MR. TAVENNER. Who were the leaders in the Communist movement in this group?

MR. DUNKEL. In this group the leader—I don't know what he was called—was Henry Blankfort, and Sam Moore seemed to be his assistant. Pauline Lauber was secretary, I believe.

There was a woman or girl, whose name I never learned, who was treasurer. And a man by the name of Robin Short seemed also to be a member of the executive committee. That is all I can remember.

MR. TAVENNER. Can you tell the committee or give the committee the names of any other persons who attended either of the meetings that you attended?

MR. DUNKEL. I didn't know many of them. I was rather new on radio, outside of my CBS group. I didn't know many of them, except Hy Alexander, —

MR. TAVENNER. Was he present?

MR. DUNKEL. He was present—and Georgia Backus. They were both members of the Radio Writers' Guild council. So I knew them. I knew, of course, my friend Irving Ravetch.

MR. TAVENNER. Do you know whether Irving Ravetch remained in the Communist Party, or left the Communist Party about the time you did?

MR. DUNKEL. I know that he did leave it at the same time, because we more or less shared the experience, talked it over, and very definitely decided the same things about it. And he is still my friend, and I know how he feels about everything. And he has had no further activity at all.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do we understand correctly that you have had no association or affiliation with the Communist Party or its activities to your knowledge, since that time?

Mr. DUNKEL. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall the names of any other persons who were present at these meetings?

Mr. DUNKEL. No, I don't. I met Abe Burrows in the hall of Sam Moore's house when I arrived for the first meeting, I believe it was, and he was a member of the Radio Writers' Guild council at that time and, of course, I knew him. But I cannot say that he stayed for the meeting, nor can I say positively that he was a member of the group because I don't remember that he did—I don't remember seeing him again.

I have seen newspaper reports, the names of people whom I knew later in radio as having been members of that group, but I didn't know them and I cannot positively say that I saw them there.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. DOYLE. I don't, either.

I wish to thank you for volunteering to help your Congress, the United States Congress, in trying to meet this problem, officially, and subversive activities in our country in the Communist Party or any other group or individual.

Do you have any suggestions to make to the committee?

Mr. DUNKEL. No. I have thought about it, and it is a difficult problem, I realize. And I just don't feel that I know enough about the inner activities to really offer any constructive suggestions.

Mr. DOYLE. Did you find any difficulty in contacting the committee to make your appearance?

Mr. DUNKEL. No, I didn't.

Mr. DOYLE. You found our staff cooperative?

Mr. DUNKEL. Very cooperative.

Mr. DOYLE. You handled it yourself directly? You didn't ask an intermediary?

Mr. DUNKEL. I went to Dwight Hauser, when I saw that he had testified, and asked him how to get in touch with you.

Mr. DOYLE. Can you think of any ways or means that the committee might take to have other men and women in your profession, or related thereto, to have a result such as yours, for a voluntary appearance, to help Congress understand this problem and better handle it? Is there any way we can get to more people in your profession?

Mr. DUNKEL. I don't really know any concrete steps that you can take, but I do believe that the kind of treatment I have received, and Dwight Hauser told me that he received, is certainly helpful in that regard.

Mr. DOYLE. Then we invite you to spread that word.

Mr. DUNKEL. All right.

Mr. DOYLE. We invite you, also, to—of course, it doesn't apply so much to you, sir, because you were only in a short time, but I frequently say to a person who has been in, put a lot of vim, vigor, and vitality into speaking and acting and working against the Communist conspiracy.

Mr. DUNKEL. I try to do that whenever I can, whenever I see an opportunity. But, as I say, I don't have a lot of ammunition. I didn't stay in long enough to really know the intricate workings

saw as much as I needed to see for my own particular point of view. But I couldn't—

Mr. DOYLE. Possibly there will come a time when you can appropriately make a script of some sort or story of some sort.

Mr. DUNKEL. I really hope that that is true; and I have thought a lot about it, and I hope I can do something.

Mr. DOYLE. Did our counsel ask if Sam Moore ever urged you to get back in?

Mr. DUNKEL. At the executive committee meeting where I resigned, so to speak, he was present and he did talk to me quite a lot, but he never again approached me, partly because I made my attitude quite clear, and also in the following year or so I found an opportunity to oppose him on the Radio Writers' Guild council a couple of times, on issues which I felt were more involved with the Communist line than with the welfare of the guild. And, therefore, he knew my attitude pretty clearly and he has never been very friendly with me since.

Mr. DOYLE. You weren't invited to that executive session? You went yourself?

Mr. DUNKEL. I went myself.

Mr. DOYLE. Thank you very much.

(Whereupon the witness was excused.)

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. Ravetch.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Ravetch, will you raise your right hand?

Do you solemnly swear that the evidence you shall give to this subcommittee shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. RAVETCH. I do.

Mr. DOYLE. Be seated, please.

TESTIMONY OF IRVING RAVETCH

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your name, please, sir?

Mr. RAVETCH. Irving Ravetch.

Mr. TAVENNER. I note that you do not have counsel accompanying you. It is the proper practice of the committee—I always explain to witnesses that they have the right to confer with counsel at any time during the period of their examination and to have counsel with them both in open and executive meetings, if they so desire.

Mr. DOYLE. Do you desire to proceed without having counsel?

Mr. RAVETCH. Yes, I do, Mr. Doyle.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born?

Mr. RAVETCH. Newark, N. J., November 14, 1920.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where do you now reside?

Mr. RAVETCH. I live at 413½ Veteran Avenue in Los Angeles 24.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you lived in Los Angeles?

Mr. RAVETCH. Well, I was a student here. I came from Long Beach, Calif., in 1939, and went to UCLA. So I guess—

Mr. TAVENNER. Let me approach the matter another way. Will you tell the committee, first, what educational training you have had, and then follow it by a statement of what your employment or occupation has been?

Mr. RAVETCH. Well, I am a graduate of the University of California at Los Angeles, graduating in 1941. I served in the Army briefly.

And then I went to work as a free-lance writer, or, rather, as a staff writer at CBS in Hollywood.

Mr. TAVENNER. When was that?

Mr. RAVETCH. In 1943. After a year there I went to work at M. G. M. in Culver City, 1944, 1945, and 1946. Since 1946 I have been a free-lance writer.

Mr. TAVENNER. In what field?

Mr. RAVETCH. Motion pictures, largely; selling original stories to various studios, taking assignments from time to time with a studio. But under contract nowhere since then.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you worked particularly in the field of radio?

Mr. RAVETCH. For 1 year back in 1944.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, you tell the committee, please, what some of your principal screen and radio credits have been?

Mr. RAVETCH. My radio credits don't bear analysis, because as a staff writer I was writing continuity for western singers or stage singers on the station.

In pictures I have mainly written westerns. I have four western credits, actually.

Mr. TAVENNER. What are they?

Mr. RAVETCH. The Outriders, M. G. M. Vengeance Valley, M. G. M. The original story of Lone Hand, Universal-International. The original story of Run For Cover, Pine-Thomas. The original story of Paid in Full, for Harry Joe Brown. And that's it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you appear here pursuant to a subpoena, or are you appearing here voluntarily?

Mr. RAVETCH. I am a voluntary witness.

Mr. TAVENNER. The committee has received a communication from you giving it certain facts regarding your experiences in connection with the Communist Party, and, as I understand it, you have indicated a desire and a willingness to appear under oath before the committee.

Mr. RAVETCH. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. To give it such facts as you have, is that correct?

Mr. RAVETCH. That is correct; yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Very well, sir, if you will proceed to tell the committee whether or not you at any time became affiliated with the Communist Party; if so, what were the circumstances under which you became a Communist Party member, what your experiences were while in the Communist Party, and if you withdrew from the Communist Party, what the circumstances of your withdrawal were. I believe that you can go ahead and cover that without my asking you questions.

Mr. RAVETCH. Right. In April of 1944 for an extremely brief period, literally for 2 weeks, I was a member of the Communist Party. My motives for joining, in trying to reconstruct them now, were unreasoned, and actually, I suppose, partook of a reckless type of curiosity to see what was going on. I was a lot younger than I am now.

The party's social program and its ardent desire to win the war to finish off the war with Hitler, were rather attractive elements, and I can only tell you that I was duped by them, as many other men of good will have been, because of these particular programs.

Sitting in two Communist meetings in 1944 very quickly convinced me that I had made a mistake, and I got out instantly.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is it that convinced you that you had made a mistake?

Mr. RAVETCH. The reconstruction is very difficult. I realized it was foolish to be a Communist Party member. I realized I had made an error, a foolish error, at the time. I had, I quickly discovered, very little in common with the people I saw around me in the two meetings; that there was an air of fanaticism, a kind of zealous fate which frightened me and made me want to leave quickly. I simply came to the conclusion that I was not a joiner, certainly not a joiner here, that I didn't belong here.

I perhaps can cite an example which might prove of interest: I was told the first time I sat in the meeting that Communists had a very special key, a key to knowledge and a way of life, that dialectical Marxism taught a man all he had to know to get along in the world.

The speaker stated that Communists are said to follow a party line and people who level this charge themselves cite as an example the fact that two Communists at opposite ends of the pole in the world can get up and speak on the same topic and say almost literally the same; if you have the key you can give the right answers.

This was phony and I knew immediately that I had made a mistake.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who made the address to you?

Mr. RAVETCH. Henry Blankfort, who was apparently the chairman of this group.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee the facts as to how you got into the party? Did you solicit membership, or were you solicited to become a member?

Mr. RAVETCH. Actually, I was solicited by Henry, the same Henry Blankfort, over a period of a few weeks, or even a few months. Dwight Hauser, who worked at CBS at the same time, and who didn't even remember me, quite logically—

Mr. TAVENNER. You mean when he testified before the committee?

Mr. RAVETCH. That is right. He quite forgot me, I am certain, because I was there so briefly; and we worked together at CBS, and I recall his discussing the advantages of the party.

Mr. TAVENNER. I think the record should show at this place that Mr. Dwight Hauser cooperated fully with this committee and testified before it and demonstrated that he had left the Communist Party in good faith and was no longer connected with it.

Now, what were the actual circumstances surrounding your leaving the Communist Party?

Mr. RAVETCH. I simply never appeared again. I was not solicited to return. Nobody, apparently, even noticed that I dropped out. I went twice in April 1944, probably on succeeding weeks, on two succeeding weeks. I never went again. I paid them not a cent in dues. I participated in none of their discussions or any of their activities.

I quite frankly must tell you that I never, apart from the literal fact of being present—I don't consider myself, through conviction or anything else, a member of the party or that I ever was.

Mr. DOYLE. Did you sign an application card to be a member, Mr. Ravetch? Did Mr. Blankfort present a card to you to sign, a pledge card or application card?

Mr. RAVETCH. I was, it seems to me, so irresponsible about this move that I don't remember actually signing anything at any time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell me who were the leaders of this group, so far as you could ascertain from the two meetings which you attended?

Mr. RAVETCH. Henry Blankfort was apparently one leader. Sam Moore was apparently another. They appeared to share the responsibility for discussions and the routine of the meetings.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall whether these two meetings that you attended were closed Communist Party meetings, in the sense that they were not open to attendance by nonmembers?

Mr. RAVETCH. I seem to recall people coming in and going out in the course—the atmosphere was a very relaxed one, and certainly gave the impression of being nothing in the world like a subversive or undercover meeting. So I would be inclined to say, perhaps, it was an open meeting.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you see dues collected at that meeting, or either of them?

Mr. RAVETCH. I remember a short discussion about dues, about the necessity for supporting the party financially, but I don't actually think I saw anybody collect money.

Mr. TAVENNER. Communist Party business, however, was discussed at the meeting that you attended?

Mr. RAVETCH. Yes. There was a discussion of the book review of, I guess it was Earl Browder's pamphlet of the Conference at Teheran.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee who were present at these two meetings, as far as you can recall?

Mr. RAVETCH. My information is extremely meager on this point. The people I knew were people with whom I had other contact in radio. Apart from the two gentlemen who appeared to be the co-chairmen and Mr. Hauser, there were Robin Short and Caren Kinzel. That's about five. Abe Burrows was present, or appeared to walk in and out at one point.

Mr. TAVENNER. In one or both meetings? Do you recall which one?

Mr. RAVETCH. The first.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did he take any part in the meeting itself?

Mr. RAVETCH. He stood in the back of the room, which is why I am of the impression that he came in, lingered briefly and went out again. I would say he did not take any part.

My friend John Dunkel, who went in the party with me and out of the party with me in the same period, was also at one of them—not the second.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was an effort made at any time to get you back into the party, or in attendance at meetings?

Mr. RAVETCH. Never again. I dropped out and never actually saw any of these people again since 1944 to this day to my knowledge. I don't believe I have seen any of them since 1944.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where were the meetings held?

Mr. RAVETCH. The first was held at the home of Sam Moore. The second was held somewhere on the Sunset Strip; whose house I don't remember; where the house was I don't know.

Mr. TAVENNER. How did you receive notice as to when, where and when, the meetings were to be held?

Mr. RAVETCH. Well, at the time of my solicitation I was invited to appear at the first, and advance information was given at the first is to the second.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do I understand that you have had no connection or affiliation with the Communist Party since the time you withdrew?

Mr. RAVETCH. Not at all.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. DOYLE. At the time you met Mr. Moore in connection with that Communist meeting, he was quite a leader, wasn't he, in the writers' field?

Mr. RAVETCH. As I remember, Mr. Doyle, he was extremely active in the Radio Writers' Guild. But at that time I myself was not at all active in the guild, so that I didn't know him until this first meeting.

Mr. DOYLE. Well, you were in the party just for a couple of weeks, and that was during the period that Earl Browder was still head of the American Communist Party in April 1944?

Mr. RAVETCH. Evidently he was.

Mr. DOYLE. Have you any suggestions to make to Congress through this committee as to what we should do differently, if anything, on any level? In other words, how can we obtain more cooperation from more of your brilliant men in the writing field in helping us to uncover real subversives?

Do you have any suggestions?

Mr. RAVETCH. That's a large question, Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. Will you give it some definite thought?

Mr. RAVETCH. I surely will, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. Did you have any difficulty in contacting our staff in order to meet with us today?

Mr. RAVETCH. No. I met you through Mr. Wheeler, of course. I would like to go on record as saying I made a voluntary trip to the FBI in—at the time of the outbreak of the Korean war, and it finally seemed to me that the lines were pretty well drawn, and taking whatever information I had.

Mr. DOYLE. Thank you very much for that, and thanks for coming this morning.

Let me suggest to you this, as I have to another 1 or 2 this morning in the writers' field that have been with us: You are, as an expert in your profession, in a field that is so possible for you to put a lot of vim, vigor, and vitality into some writing some day which will help immeasurably the American people understand more than we do know, even, the need of being vigilant, and also possibly how to better meet the problem.

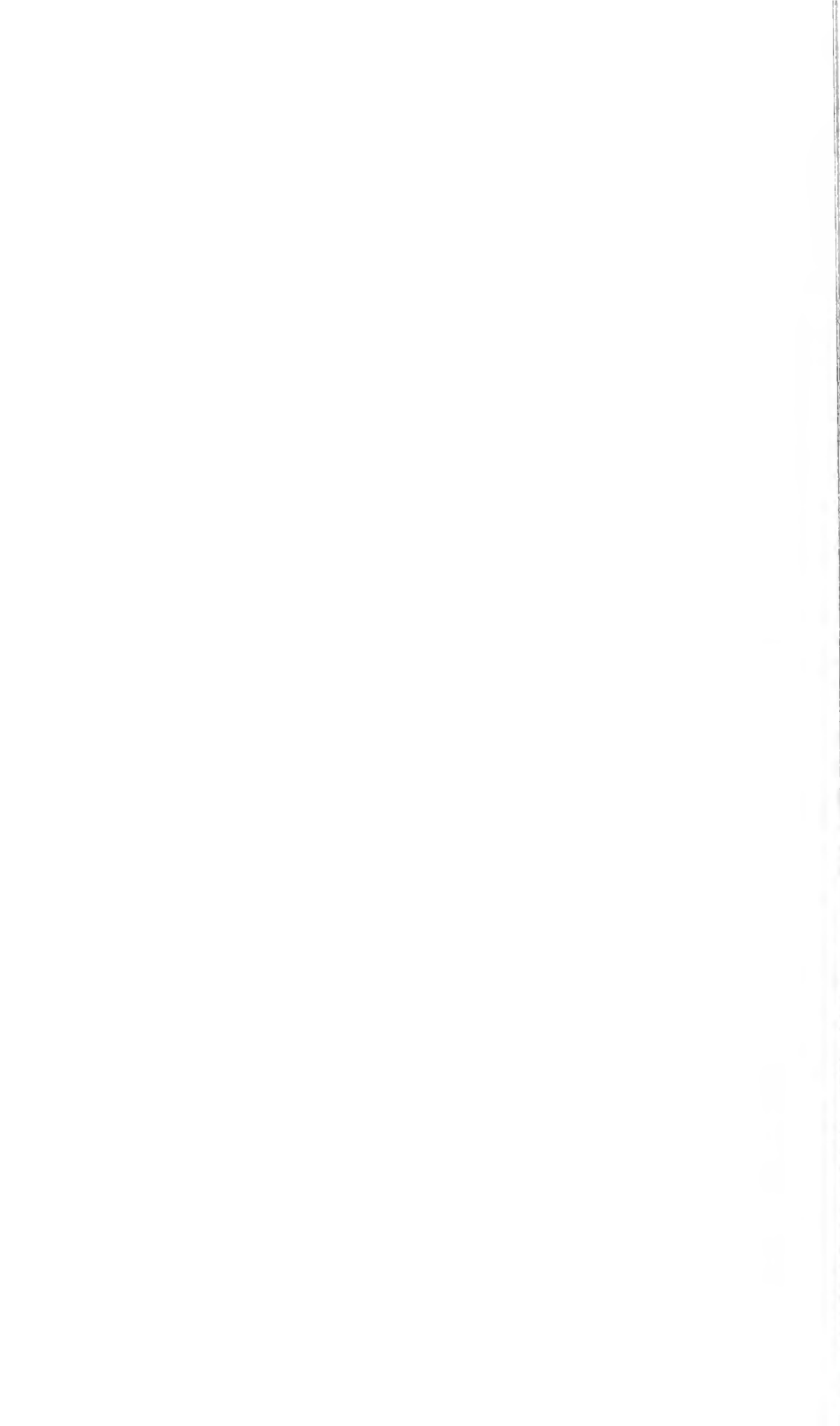
Let me suggest that you think along that line and see if in your rich experiences there won't come a time when you can attack that in some way and really make a great contribution in your own profession, through your own professional writing, to meet this world conspiracy.

Mr. RAVETCH. I shall give it every thought, I assure you.

Mr. DOYLE. Thank you again for coming.

That is all.

(Whereupon the witness was excused and the hearing was adjourned subject to the call of the Chair.)



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INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE
STATE OF CALIFORNIA—Part 4

HEARING
BEFORE THE
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
EIGHTY-THIRD CONGRESS
SECOND SESSION

APRIL 19, 1954
(MORNING SESSION)

Printed for the use of the Committee on Un-American Activities

INCLUDING INDEX



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COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

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PUBLIC LAW 601, 79TH CONGRESS

The legislation under which the House Committee on Un-American Activities operates is Public Law 601, 79th Congress [1946], chapter 753, 2d session, which provides:

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, * * **

PART 2—RULES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

RULE X

SEC. 121. STANDING COMMITTEE

* * * * *

17. Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine members.

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

* * * * *

(q) (1) Committee on Un-American Activities.

(A) Un-American activities.

(2) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (i) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (ii) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and Un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (iii) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

RULES ADOPTED BY THE 83D CONGRESS

House Resolution 5, January 3, 1953

* * * * *

RULE X

STANDING COMMITTEES

(1) There shall be elected by the House, at the commencement of each Congress, the following standing committees:

* * * * *

(q) Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine members.

* * * * *

RULE XI

POWER AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

* * * * *

17. Committee on Un-American Activities.

(a) Un-American activities.

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INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA—Part 4

MONDAY, APRIL 19, 1954

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
San Diego, Calif.

PUBLIC HEARING

The Subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to notice, at 9:05 a. m., in the Chamber of Commerce Building, Hon. Donald L. Jackson (acting chairman) presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives Donald L. Jackson and Clyde Doyle.

Staff members present: Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel; William A. Wheeler, staff investigator; and Mrs. Billie Wheeler, acting for the clerk.

Mr. JACKSON. Under the authority conferred upon the chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities and pursuant to the rules of the House of Representatives and of the committee, the Honorable Harold H. Velde has appointed a subcommittee of two members to take the testimony of witnesses in the current hearings which will continue through Thursday noon.

Out of hearings heretofore conducted in other sections of the country there has developed information which indicates that a significant effort was made by the Communist Party to organize its activities in this general area. San Diego is not only important from the standpoint of a concentrated defense production but also as an important link in international communications. Any successful effort on the part of the Communist Party to infiltrate its agents into these important activities would present an apparent danger to the security of our country.

Under the rules of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, television is permitted as a public service and in order that as many citizens as possible may be kept fully advised of the important work being done by the committee. All public media of information will get the fullest possible opportunity to transmit to the American people the testimony developed in these hearings and relating to the subject of the investigation. It is anticipated that some witnesses may object to the presence here in the room of television and radio facilities. Under the rules of the committee such witnesses may not be photographed during the course of their testimony. However, the Chair wishes to make it clear that any interruption of public-service broadcasts will come as a result of the demand by witnesses and will

not constitute an interference by the committee of legitimate means of public information.

The chairman wishes to caution the audience in the hearing room against any demonstration of approval or disapproval respecting the testimony of witnesses. The committee is here upon the business of the Congress and decorum and dignity will be maintained during the course of the hearings. Any demonstration will result in clearing of the room. The Chair hopes that this step will not be necessary, but wishes to make it clear that there will be no hesitancy in so doing in the event of audible expressions of approval or disapproval.

The committee appreciates the courtesy extended by the San Diego Chamber of Commerce in making this hearing room available.

Mr. Counsel, are you ready to proceed?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. JACKSON. Who is your first witness?

Mr. TAVENNER. My first witness is Mr. Daniel Pomeroy Taylor. Mr. Taylor, will you come forward, please?

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Taylor, will you raise your right hand, please?

In the testimony you are about to give before this subcommittee, do you solemnly swear that you will tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. TAYLOR. I do.

Mr. JACKSON. Be seated, please.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you give us your name, please?

TESTIMONY OF DANIEL POMEROY TAYLOR

Mr. TAYLOR. Daniel Pomeroy Taylor.

Mr. TAVENNER. It is the practice of the committee to explain to every witness that he has the privilege of having counsel with him. It is noted that you do not have counsel with you, so I want to make it plain that you have that right at any time during the hearing that you may desire.

Mr. TAYLOR. I waive counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born, Mr. Taylor?

Mr. TAYLOR. In Oak Park, Ill.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the date of your birth?

Mr. TAYLOR. November 20, 1913.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where do you now reside?

Mr. TAYLOR. In Los Angeles.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you lived in Los Angeles?

Mr. TAYLOR. For the past 12½ years.

Mr. TAVENNER. Prior to that time where did you live?

Mr. TAYLOR. In San Diego.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, briefly, what your education and training has been?

Mr. TAYLOR. I graduated from San Diego High School in 1931.

Mr. TAVENNER. What has been the nature of your employment since 1935?

Mr. TAYLOR. I was on the Federal writers' project for 3 years and then in the city school system.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will give us the date, the approximate years in which you were working with the Federal writers' project?

Mr. TAYLOR. 1936 to 1939, inclusive.

Mr. TAVENNER. And then what was your employment?

Mr. TAYLOR. Following that?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. TAYLOR. I worked as public-relations counsel for the evening adult education department of the San Diego school system.

Mr. TAVENNER. And for how long a period of time were you so employed?

Mr. TAYLOR. Six or seven months.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was your next employment?

Mr. TAYLOR. I went to Los Angeles in May, 1941, and was employed by Vimcar Steel Co.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Taylor, are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. TAYLOR. No; I am not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. TAYLOR. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, the approximate date that you became a member and the approximate time that you withdrew from the Communist Party?

Mr. TAYLOR. I joined the Communist Party in August 1935 and left in November 1941.

Mr. TAVENNER. According to your record of employment, most of that period of time you were in the San Diego area, were you not?

Mr. TAYLOR. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, the circumstances under which you became a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. TAYLOR. It is a rather long story. Do you mind if it takes a few minutes?

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, just take enough time that in your judgment would give the committee a pretty accurate idea of what led you into the Communist Party and what motivated you in going into the Communist Party?

Mr. TAYLOR. To begin with, my cousin is Anna Louise Strong who was editor of the English edition of the Moscow News, in Moscow, Russia, and she is also the author of many books about Russia, and in my teens I naturally read those books, and although my family did not think well of her, I was somewhat influenced by her books and her writings. I also aspired to write, and I worked for my school papers at Memorial Junior High School, where I was the editor of the paper, and I was a reporter for the school paper in the San Diego High School.

Then in February 1935, an article which I wrote was published in the New Republic, a magazine which I had been a reader of for many years, and a Communist acquaintance that used to spend a great deal of time at the San Diego Public Library, where I met him, when he discovered that I had had an article published in a national magazine, he notified the Communist Party leadership in San Diego and told them he thought I was worth concentrating upon in the hopes of recruiting me.

About 2 weeks after the article was published in the magazine a carload of Communists visited my home, all smiles, and endeavored

to win my friendship. They congratulated me on my article and they invited me to a house social that evening, and at that house social I met Stanley Hancock who was the head of the Communist Party in San Diego, and he also——

Mr. TAVENNER. Let me interrupt you at that point. Mr. Chairman, reference was made to Stanley Hancock. I should refresh your recollection that his testimony was taken in Washington within the past 30 days. He told the committee his connection with the Communist Party and when he withdrew from the Communist Party, and he has cooperated fully with the committee.¹

Mr. JACKSON. Yes; the subcommittee heard the testimony of Mr. Hancock and it should show in the record that his testimony was very complete and that it added a great deal to the sum total of knowledge possessed by the committee on the activities of the Communist Party in the San Diego area.

Proceed, Mr. Tavenner.

Mr. TAVENNER. If you will continue, please.

Mr. TAYLOR. Hancock asked me was I regularly employed and I said right then I was not employed. That is, that I was spending my time writing and sending articles and stories to the national magazines, and he said that he believed that he could find me a job writing, working for the San Diego city schools, and I was somewhat surprised, as he was introduced to me as a Communist, although when the people visited my home that day I didn't know they were Communists; I thought they were just readers of the magazine.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you later find them to be Communists?

Mr. TAYLOR. Yes; within a few weeks. I didn't know it that night. I thought Stanley Hancock was the only Communist at that house social.

But within a few days Stanley Hancock obtained a job for me writing for the San Diego city schools' curriculum project. It was some kind of a make-work project during the depression to write books for the schoolchildren of San Diego, and that summer of 1935 I wrote a book for the San Diego city schools entitled "Ebbtide Friends."

Mr. TAVENNER. What was that?

Mr. TAYLOR. Ebbtide Friends, which was used in the San Diego schools for the fifth-grade children.

Mr. TAVENNER. Let me interrupt you at this moment. Do you know how it was that Hancock had influence enough to obtain this position for you?

Mr. TAYLOR. The Communist Party had a great deal of influence in the State relief administration and it was through those channels that he was able to obtain jobs for people whom he wished to enmesh in his organization.

Mr. TAVENNER. All right. If you will proceed now with what occurred.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Counsel, I would like to interpose a question.

Do you know who Mr. Hancock contacted relative to your employment on this writing project?

Mr. TAYLOR. No; I have no idea as to that.

¹ See pt. 2 of this title, pp. 4564-4592.

Within a few weeks after I began working for this city schools' curriculum job, Stanley Hancock asked me to join the Communist Party, and I told him I didn't care to, and I wasn't interested in joining, and he said, "Well, we will talk it over at some later date," but at least twice a week I was pressured with a membership card and asked to join—they had me organize a group called the Unemployed Council, of which I was the president, and I felt that maybe if I did some activity such as that for them that they wouldn't keep insisting that I join the Communist Party.

Finally extreme pressure was put on, several months passed, and I was practically told if I didn't join the Communist Party that they would consider me hostile, and that a hostile person would certainly pay a penalty of some kind. It was more or less of a threat, high-pressure tactics.

I didn't join immediately when he said that, but I joined about that time, and that was about 1935. I joined soon after the heat was put on, you might say.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee the names of the group who called upon you and whom you later found to be members of the Communist Party, at the time you published your successful article in the New Republic? I want you to give names only of those you later found to be members of the Communist Party from your own knowledge.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, I wish to state at that point I am glad that counsel has called the attention of the witness to the fact that we only want any witness, either this or any other witness, to give in public the names of people whom he positively can identify as Communists. We don't want hearsay or rumor or anything less than positive identification. I am sure that my distinguished chairman agrees with that.

Mr. JACKSON. Yes.

Mr. TAYLOR. These Communists who visited me and first brought me into contact with the Communist Party were Bessie A. Keckler—

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell the last name, please?

Mr. TAYLOR. K-e-c-k-l-e-r. James Toback.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell it?

Mr. TAYLOR. T-o-b-a-c-k. I can't remember who the other 2 or 3 were.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, if I understand your testimony correctly, you became an organizer of the Unemployed Council in San Diego and became its first president prior to your joining the Communist Party?

Mr. TAYLOR. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. What positions did you later hold in the Communist Party?

Mr. TAYLOR. I was the continuous educational director of the Communist Party for 4 years. I was continuous chairman of the Communist Party here for a little over a year, and continuous organizer of the Communist Party in San Diego for approximately 1 year.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, the group or cell of the Communist Party to which you were first assigned upon becoming a member?

Mr. TAYLOR. In August of 1935 I was assigned to a small neighborhood unit of the Communist Party, possibly 7 or 8 members.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did it have a name?

Mr. TAYLOR. It probably had a number, but I don't remember.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you remain in that group?

Mr. TAYLOR. It might have had a name. It met in Logan Heights and it might have been called the Logan Heights unit. I believe it was so called sometimes.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you remain a member of that particular unit of the party?

Mr. TAYLOR. Until the spring of 1936.

Mr. TAVENNER. During that period of time from August 1935 until the spring of 1936, what was your chief activity in the Communist Party?

Mr. TAYLOR. I was assigned to work as assistant editor of the Trade Union News, a weekly labor paper put out by Stanley Hancock, and was assigned to continue my official capacity in the Unemployed Council, and for a while I was assigned to youth work.

Mr. TAVENNER. Let me take those matters up in the order—excuse me. Possibly you were going to mention something else.

Mr. TAYLOR. No; I cannot think of anything else.

Mr. TAVENNER. Let me ask you about your work in the Unemployed Council. Were there other members of the Communist Party located within that organization?

Mr. TAYLOR. Yes; there were quite a few.

Mr. TAVENNER. How many would you judge?

Mr. TAYLOR. Possibly 25 or 30 altogether in the county. Maybe 40. I really don't know how many in the entire county because there were locals of this Unemployed Council throughout the county.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was the Communist Party particularly interested in the work of the Unemployed Council?

Mr. TAYLOR. Yes; it was a main front activity during the depression.

Mr. TAVENNER. I wish you would tell the committee, please, how the Communist Party functioned in connection with the work of its members in the Unemployed Council. By that I mean tell the committee what the Communist Party sought to accomplish and how it proceeded to act within the Communist Party.

Mr. TAYLOR. The Communist Party controlled the Unemployed Councils by having their Communist Party members in positions of leadership in nearly all the cases, and these members, these Communist members, were required to appear before the leadership of the Communist Party once a week or once every other week, and sometimes they were given orders as to the activities that Unemployed Councils were to engage in.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee the general nature of those directives or instructions, generally.

Mr. TAYLOR. Well, those were days of strife. The Unemployed Councils held mass demonstrations, mass protests, picket lines; they would picket relief headquarters; they would picket the city hall and board of supervisors' meetings, or would crowd them with members so that every seat was taken in order to endeavor to get those bodies to go along with policies which the Communist Party was endorsing. Also the Unemployed Council had people stationed at all the relief headquarters so if a person, say, who was not a resident of San Diego failed to get a food order or grocery order, as it was called, the Unemployed Council people would take the person back upstairs and intimidate the social service workers into writing out grocery orders.

This high-pressure type of thing made friends for the Unemployed Councils and those members who told the recipient that they were Communists, which they often did, and they would say, "I am a Communist, and see what Communist tactics can do for you," and the social-service workers were usually scared to death.

Mr. JACKSON. This organized intimidation constituted authority which in fact was directed and dictated by the Communist Party?

Mr. TAYLOR. It was.

Mr. TAVENNER. You stated that the Communist Party members took people upstairs who had been denied grocery orders. I don't understand just what you mean by taking them upstairs. Did you have an office or a place of business in the same building?

Mr. TAYLOR. No. I should have said that the county welfare office at that time was in the Spreckels Building on the second and third floors. When I said the Communists took them upstairs, they waited on the ground floor and questioned everybody who came down from the relief office, and if a person was not a resident, they could not obtain a grocery order, if they were transient. In many cases there was always a delay because the social-service workers wanted to investigate the person to see if they lived at the address which they lived at, and this constituted a delay for 2 or 3 days before the person received the grocery order. The Communist would take the unemployed person upstairs to the relief workers and demand a grocery order, and generally those tactics would get it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know of any instances in which the Communist Party took just the reverse attitude and interested themselves in denying relief to any particular class of individuals?

Mr. TAYLOR. In cases of people who turned against the Communist Party, members, I should say, who differed with the Communist Party, the Communist Party would retaliate by endeavoring to have these people thrown off of their job, fired, or thrown off the relief rolls, if they were on the relief rolls. When such methods of intimidation were known to the other members, that kept such members from dropping out of the Communist Party.

Mr. DOYLE. Do you mean the Communist Party leadership would deliberately deprive San Diego citizens of necessary food because they opposed the Communist Party in San Diego?

Mr. TAYLOR. I knew of people who had lived for many years in San Diego who were forced to leave town and take up residence somewhere else simply because the Communist Party was making it so difficult for them to make a livelihood.

Mr. JACKSON. Then it could be stated that the Communist Party interest in a welfare case was political rather than economic, is that a fair statement of fact; they were not interested in the economics of the matter at all, but very much interested in the politics of the individual concerned.

Mr. TAYLOR. They were solely interested in themselves, the Communists were, solely interested in their own organization.

Mr. DOYLE. In other words, Mr. Chairman, they were willing to let little children and babies go hungry merely because their parents opposed the Communist Party.

Mr. TAYLOR. If that person had been a member of the Communist Party. As a rule they wouldn't take this action against an average

person who happened to be against the Communists, but upon their own dissidents.

Mr. DOYLE. I understand that, but in other words, if a former member withdrew from the party or refused to cooperate, then they went to the extent of intimidating social welfare and social workers to the point that they would deny these former Communist Party members food, even though there might be small children and babies in those families?

Mr. TAYLOR. That is right.

Mr. DOYLE. As a matter of punishment and retribution?

Mr. TAYLOR. And in order to prevent other people from dropping out of the Communist Party.

Mr. JACKSON. Proceed, Counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. The committee has been accustomed to hear dissidents within the Communist Party spoken of as Trotskyites. Is that in a general way what you are speaking of?

Mr. TAYLOR. Yes, but in those early depression days there was no actual Trotskyite organization as such. There were a few, maybe one or two Trotskyites in those days, but they didn't have really an organization.

Mr. TAVENNER. Why was it the Communist Party was interested in the work of the Unemployed Council in the manner in which you have described; what did they seek to accomplish by that activity?

Mr. TAYLOR. Well, their purposes were twofold. They wanted to build an organization of unemployed people, WPA people and reliefites that could carry out the policies of the Communist Party, and secondly, they used this organization as a field for recruiting into the Communist Party, and as a method of spreading Communist information among a larger group of people than if there were no such Unemployed Council.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, how the decision was reached to take a given line of conduct in the Unemployed Council?

Mr. TAYLOR. The decision was invariably reached by the Communist Party leadership. The Unemployed Council leaders took no action of any importance on their own. They took all of their orders, and advice from the Communist Party leadership of San Diego, and, of course, that was true in other cities.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you remain in the work of the Unemployed Council?

Mr. TAYLOR. Until approximately February 1936.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, did you during that period of time become active in any other enterprise of the Unemployed Council; did it, for instance, publish any circulars or paper of its own?

Mr. TAYLOR. Oh, yes. I was editor of a biweekly newspaper entitled the "Unemployed News" in 1935.

Mr. TAVENNER. You told us also that you were assisting Mr. Hancock as associate editor of the Trade Union News. Was that during this same period?

Mr. TAYLOR. That was the same period, 1935.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, what the nature of this publication known as the Trade Union News was?

Mr. TAYLOR. The Trade Union News was an 8- or 10-page paper which was mailed to several thousand A. F. of L. members in San Diego City, and the material in the paper was given by Communist Party members who were active in the A. F. of L. There was a Communist in nearly every union in San Diego, and these people attended meetings and gave to the Communist Party the results of those meetings, the action taken, and also meetings of the San Diego County Federated Trades and Labor Council, it was this information which Stanley Hancock and I wrote down and put in the weekly newspaper, the Trade Union News, and mailed it to several thousand A. F. of L. members.

Mr. TAVENNER. How was the publication financed?

Mr. TAYLOR. It was financed by the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. During this period of time, what percentage of your time was devoted to the work of the Communist Party through active participation in the party and through active participation as a member of a front organization of the party, namely, the Unemployed Council?

Mr. TAYLOR. I should say it entailed 3 or 4 hours every day, an average of 30 or 40 hours a week.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you attend meetings of the Communist Party frequently at night?

Mr. TAYLOR. Every member is required to attend a weekly meeting of the Communist Party and he is also required to attend his union or front meeting once a week or oftener, and is expected to take a part in the leadership meetings of his front organization or union. He is expected to push himself into leadership.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell us at this time, please, what organizational setup of the Communist Party was here in San Diego during the early period of your membership?

Mr. TAYLOR. The organizational setup of the Communist Party at San Diego?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. TAYLOR. Its leadership, well, first, it was composed of 15 or 16 units which had approximately a dozen or more members. Then there was a county executive committee which represented the leadership of the San Diego Communist Party and once every 2 months a meeting was held of the common committee, an organization of approximately 40 or 50 Communists in San Diego who represented the leadership of the Communist Party units.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, the first unit that you became a member of was a group of 7 or 8, I understood you to say, and you think it was called the Logan Heights group or unit of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAYLOR. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, who was the leader of that group when you first became a member of it?

Mr. TAYLOR. James Toback.

Mr. TAVENNER. James Toback?

Mr. TAYLOR. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you give us names of other members of that group, and in giving us that information I would like for you to identify them as well as you can by their occupation, if you know what that was, and tell the committee anything you can recall about their activities within the group.

Mr. TAYLOR. James Toback was the unit organizer of the first unit of the Communist Party which I was in. He was unemployed at that time.

Mr. TAVENNER. What part did Toback play, if any, in recruiting you into the party? I am not certain that I have asked you that.

Mr. TAYLOR. James Toback was one of those who recruited me, a cosigner for me. Every recruit is supposed to have two people vouch for him or cosign for him.

Mr. TAVENNER. And Toback was one?

Mr. TAYLOR. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who was the other?

Mr. TAYLOR. Leo Gregovich.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell the last name?

Mr. TAYLOR. G-r-e-g-o-v-i-c-h.

Mr. TAVENNER. All right. If you will proceed.

Mr. TAYLOR. Leo Gregovich was a cook; I don't remember where he worked. He was an officer in the Cooks & Waitresses' Union in San Diego, and he was a member of the county leadership of San Diego. Those are the only two I can think of at this time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you transferred later to a different group of the Communist Party?

Mr. TAYLOR. Yes. In the spring of 1936 I went into a different unit of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the purpose or the reason for transferring you to another group.

Mr. TAYLOR. The second group which I was sent into was more representative of the people whom I was working with in front organizations.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did this group have a name?

Mr. TAYLOR. It possibly had a number, but I do not remember it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Approximately how many persons comprised this second group?

Mr. TAYLOR. I would say 13 or 14.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who was the leader of the group?

Mr. TAYLOR. They often changed their unit organizers, sometimes every few months, and I can't remember any particular one who seemed to be the outstanding organizer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you give us the names of those who were members of this group, as far as you can recall, and again give us only the names of those that you are positive in your own mind were members of the Communist Party, and any other identifying information that you can give us.

Mr. TAYLOR. Well, there was Mr. and Mrs. Bert Jones and Mr. and Mrs. Newsome, N-e-w-s-o-m-e.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall Mr. Newsome's first name?

Mr. TAYLOR. Cosby, C-o-s-b-y.

Mr. TAVENNER. And do you recall his wife's first name?

Mr. TAYLOR. Geneva. Then there was Mr. and Mrs. Carroll Hunnewell.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell that last name?

Mr. TAYLOR. H-u-n-n-e-w-e-l-l. James Toback was also a member. I think that is all I can remember.

Mr. TAVENNER. You stated that Mr. Bert Jones and his wife were members. Do you recall the wife's name?

Mr. TAYLOR. I don't recall right now. I don't quite recall her name. Oh, Martha Jones.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, will you tell the committee as nearly as you what the activities of this group were?

Mr. TAYLOR. This group was interested in unemployed activity mainly, and to some extent in boring into the American Federation of Labor. It had a twofold job.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long were you a member of this group?

Mr. TAYLOR. Throughout the year 1937. 1936, rather.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you participate during the period you were a member of this group in any effort to bore within labor, as you mentioned?

Mr. TAYLOR. Yes. James Toback and I were assigned to work in the retail clerks union, A. F. of L.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, were you a clerk?

Mr. TAYLOR. No, nor was Toback.

Mr. TAVENNER. How could you become a member of the clerks' union if you were not employed as a clerk?

Mr. TAYLOR. The Communist Party found a sympathetic merchant who agreed to tell the union if they phoned him that I was a clerk for him.

Mr. TAVENNER. When you were not a clerk?

Mr. TAYLOR. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who was that merchant?

Mr. TAYLOR. I can't remember his name right now.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the nature of his business?

Mr. TAYLOR. Well, he had an upholstering and furniture store at 22d and University in San Diego. The 20th Century Upholsterer, I believe.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you at any time talk to him about this plan, did he ever mention to you, that is, the proprietor of this mercantile business, that you were supposed to be employed as a clerk in his store to be entitled to membership while actually you were not so employed?

Mr. TAYLOR. I saw him a few months later and he told me he had been getting quite a number of phone calls and people dropping in from the AFL to check me, whether I was a clerk there, and he said it was kind of interesting. He always told them I was out on salesmanship business.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, it was by this method that the Communist Party got you into the clerks union?

Mr. TAYLOR. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were other persons gotten into the clerks union by a similar method who were not actually employed as clerks?

Mr. TAYLOR. At least 10 or 11 others.

Mr. TAVENNER. Members of the Communist Party?

Mr. TAYLOR. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you give the committee, please, the names of the Communist Party members who were not clerks but who were successful in infiltrating the union although not employed in a manner that would entitle them to become members?

Mr. TAYLOR. I can only think of 2, Mrs. Esco Richardson and Paul Alexander.

Mr. TAVENNER. Paul Alexander?

Mr. TAYLOR. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether Paul Alexander used any other name?

Mr. TAYLOR. Well, his initials are S. C. Alexander.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether that is Sterling C. or Sterling Campbell Alexander?

Mr. TAYLOR. I believe he told me that at one time.

Mr. TAVENNER. But he was commonly known in this vicinity as Paul Alexander?

Mr. TAYLOR. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long had you known Paul Alexander before he became a member of the clerks union?

Mr. TAYLOR. I had known Paul Alexander since March 1935.

Mr. TAVENNER. Had you known him as a Communist Party member during that period of time?

Mr. TAYLOR. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have told us that Paul Alexander and Mrs. Esco Richardson—do you remember what her first name was?

Mr. TAYLOR. Jen, Jen Richardson.

Mr. TAVENNER. And possibly 9 or 10 others—

Mr. TAYLOR. Eight.

Mr. TAVENNER. Eight, did you say?

Mr. TAYLOR. About eight others.

Mr. TAVENNER. About eight others became members of the clerks union. Who gave you directions to become a member of the clerks union?

Mr. TAYLOR. The directives came from the county executive committee of the Communist Party in San Diego.

Mr. TAVENNER. It may be well for you to give us at this time, if you can recall, the names of the members of the executive county committee.

Mr. TAYLOR. The county organizer of the Communist Party was Stanley Hancock; the county chairman, Paul Alexander; the county trade union director was Leo Gregovich; the county unemployment director was Mrs. Keekler; the county control officer was James Toback. I believe that is all I can recall.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, this executive committee gave you directions to become a member of the clerks union?

Mr. TAYLOR. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. What did the executive committee of the Communist Party seek to accomplish within the clerks union?

Mr. TAYLOR. They sought to control it. At that time they were trying to capture the American Federation of Labor; they were trying to capture the San Diego Federated Trades and Labor Council, which was the leading body of the A. F. of L. in San Diego. In every union where the Communist Party sent members, they endeavored to get Communist Party leaders as heads of that body, the Federated Trades and Labor Council, in order to get leadership of that body and control, which they almost did.

Mr. TAVENNER. And in order to do that, they desired to infiltrate the unions from the lowest level and build from the ground up, is that what, in substance, you are saying?

Mr. TAYLOR. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee what your group of the Communist Party did after obtaining membership in the clerks union; how did you impose the Communist Party will or decisions upon the group?

Mr. TAYLOR. Every week the Communist members of a trade union met in what they called a fraction meeting in which they discussed the aims and policies, plans, strategy, tactics, which the Communists were going to carry out at the next union meeting, or the next meeting of its board of officers, so they could work as a unit, working in unison, and put their policies through.

Mr. TAVENNER. Of course, the Communist Party membership of this group was unknown to the rank and file membership of the union?

Mr. TAYLOR. That is correct.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Counsel, at that point, was that also true of the Trade Union News, which I recall from your previous testimony, was financed by the Communist Party; did those who subscribed or received the Trade Union News have any knowledge that the Communist Party was in fact dictating editorial policy and also contributing largely to its support?

Mr. TAYLOR. Oh, yes. The American Federation of Labor in San Diego had their own newspaper called the Labor Leader, and it exposed constantly this Communist paper and told its members that it was put out by the Communist Party.

Mr. JACKSON. So those who received the Trade Union News were pretty well aware of the fact that it was Communist dominated?

Mr. TAYLOR. That is correct.

Mr. DOYLE. May I ask a question on that point, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. From what source did you build up a circulation of 8 to 10 thousand copies, as you said?

Mr. TAYLOR. Two thousand.

Mr. DOYLE. Oh, 2,000. May I go back and ask these 2 or 3 questions about these 8 or 10 fraudulent clerks? As I understand, there were 8 or 10 of these, you included, that were on the employed list of this merchant out on 32d. Were they all on that list?

Mr. TAYLOR. No, I don't think so. I think I was the only one.

Mr. DOYLE. Were you on his payroll, actually?

Mr. TAYLOR. I don't think so.

Mr. DOYLE. Did you ever receive any checks from him for any purpose?

Mr. TAYLOR. No.

Mr. DOYLE. Did you ever go in there and turn in any orders to him as a result of your solicitation of orders?

Mr. TAYLOR. No, I only saw him once or twice, I think, in all of my employment with him.

Mr. DOYLE. How long did you perpetrate that sort of a fraud with this fraudulent employer?

Mr. TAYLOR. For several months, and then in the middle of 1936 I became manager of the—or part manager and part-time clerk at the International Book Store at 635 E Street, San Diego, and thereby terminated my dubious employment with the upholsterer.

Mr. DOYLE. Are you in a position to say whether you were the only one in that fraudulent employment relationship in upholstering, or were there more than you as a Communist in there, in that relationship?

Mr. TAYLOR. I don't believe I ever inquired of the other Communist as to where they were supposed to be employed.

Mr. DOYLE. Did you ever identify that particular upholsterer who perpetrated that fraud with you as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. TAYLOR. No. I never knew him as a member of the Communist Party. He was just considered a sympathizer. I never heard that he was a member.

Mr. JACKSON. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, you have described to the committee just how the Communist Party functioned in order to wield an influence within that local. Was your group successful in securing the election of any particular individuals as officers of that union?

Mr. TAYLOR. We succeeded in electing one Communist to the position of secretary of this union.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the name of that Communist?

Mr. TAYLOR. I am not certain at this time. That was many years ago. Eighteen years ago. I don't remember who. And myself, I was elected as a delegate to the San Diego County Federated Trades and Labor Council. I don't know at this time whether Communists were elected to leadership.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the approximate membership of the local which you had joined?

Mr. TAYLOR. It was a small local to begin with. I don't know, of course, the total membership. There were probably 25 or 30 people in attendance early in 1936, and the local grew until finally it was having membership meetings of 2 or 3 hundred people. But I don't know what the actual dues-paying membership was.

Mr. TAVENNER. It would seem obvious that you had a little difficulty in controlling a meeting if there were only 20, 25 to 30 member present when you had as many as 8 to 11 Communist Party member there.

Mr. TAYLOR. Actually, we didn't have too much difficulty because the average non-Communist will not get up and speak and he is not working with a clique or group, so a group of 8 or 9 people in a crowd of 300 can completely control it by getting up and endorsing and supporting each other and speaking for an issue and the membership thinks this must be popular if 8 or 9 people are so intense about it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Isn't it true, however, if the membership of the union had been aware of the danger of Communist infiltration by appearance at those meetings, they could have voted the Communist out of any position of influence entirely and whipped the Communist in that group?

Mr. TAYLOR. Yes, that is correct. The membership did not know who were Communists in their local, didn't know that there were any at all.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the name of the local?

Mr. TAYLOR. It was the Retail Clerks' International Protective Association. I don't remember the number of the local.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was there any other matter in which the Communist Party wielded an influence within that local while you were a member of it?

Mr. TAYLOR. Yes. The Communist Party decided toward the latter half of 1936 that they should swing the clerks union into the CIO

which had just taken shape nationally. Also at this time, approximately either late 1936 or early 1937, rather, of which I am speaking, the Communist Party had nearly seized control of the Federated Trades and Labor Council by packing it with their members and sympathizers, and early in 1937 the national organization of the A. F. of L. swooped down just in time and lifted the charter of the Federated Trades and Labor Council to prevent the Communists from seizing complete control of the labor movement in San Diego, and this quick decisive action.

Mr. TAVENNER. Just a moment. Let's leave the thread of your story a minute and follow what you have just said. You had been elected through the efforts of the Communist Party to the position of delegate to this trade council as a result of the work of the Communists in this group, is that correct?

Mr. TAYLOR. I was elected by the Retail Clerks Union.

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes. And by that method the Communist Party got a representative on the trade council?

Mr. TAYLOR. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. How many other Communists, that is, persons known to you through your own knowledge to be Communists, were similarly successful in getting on the trade council?

Mr. TAYLOR. Well, I would say 20 or 25.

Mr. TAVENNER. Twenty or twenty-five out of a total membership of how many?

Mr. TAYLOR. Well, that doesn't include sympathizers. Those 25 Communists had a great many other delegates who worked with them and in glove who, however, were not Communists. I would say there were nearly 150 delegates at this time to the Federated Trades and Labor Council and the Communist Party controlled nearly half of them.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee at this point in your testimony, if you can recall, who the Communist Party members were of the trade council, persons who like yourself had been successful in being elected to that group as delegates from their respective unions?

Mr. TAYLOR. I can only think of a few names because I was not working with these other Communists as a Communist, so I didn't know them all personally, but the head of the Federated Trades and Labor Council was a Communist, his name was A. C. Rogers. He was the organizational secretary.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether that is senior or junior?

Mr. TAYLOR. Well, it must be senior.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you give the committee some indication of his age at that time?

Mr. TAYLOR. I would say he was a man of 38.

Mr. TAVENNER. How was he employed? If you know.

Mr. TAYLOR. A. C. Rogers, I believe, belonged to the office workers union.

Mr. TAVENNER. He was a member of the Communist Party and was successful in getting on the labor council by the same methods that you were successful?

Mr. TAYLOR. Of course, I can't say as to that. A. C. Rogers was a man of unusual ability, that is, he was personally a very capable

man, and he was very sincere about union work. He was a unionist at heart and he had been misguided into thinking that the Communist Party was for labor. He reached his position due to sheer ability, in my opinion, although he was duped and later found out he was duped and broke with the Communist Party and is no longer a Communist.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you give the committee the names of others whom you know of your personal knowledge were members of the party and were members of the labor council?

Mr. JACKSON. And further, if the witness will also state, if he knows, whether or not they terminated their association with the Communist Party at any time subsequent to that.

Mr. TAYLOR. I can think of one other. A man named Carroll Hunnewell, two r's in Carroll. He was a delegate from the tailors union, I believe, cleaning establishment union, perhaps, would be more correct. And offhand I can't think of any others right at this time. There was a Lydick, John Lydick, who joined the Communist Party for a while. He was a delegate for the various trade and labor councils, and he became the organizational secretary of this trade council after A. C. Rogers left.

Mr. TAVENNER. Excuse me. What was his name?

Mr. TAYLOR. John Lydick.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell the name?

Mr. TAYLOR. L-y-d-i-c-k. He was an officer of the plasterers union. He also broke with the Communist Party shortly after, I would say very soon after, some time in the middle of 1937.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you give us the names of any others?

Mr. TAYLOR. Offhand I can't think of any others. That happened 17 years ago, and the only ones that I worked with were the Communists in the clerks union, those are the only ones that I was associated with.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with a person by the name of Saul Barnhart?

Mr. TAYLOR. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know of your own personal knowledge whether he was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. TAYLOR. I never saw Saul Barnhart at a Communist Party meeting, but he was generally in the Communist Party headquarters, which at that time was at 852 Eighth Avenue, San Diego, just across from the public library.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, Saul Barnhart was identified as a delegate from the tailors union who was a member of this group by the witness Stanley Hancock.

Now I interrupted—in order to get before the committee the method of procedure in the labor council, I interrupted your story as to what was occurring within your local, when the Communist Party decided to take it out of the A. F. of L. and into the CIO.

Mr. TAYLOR. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you proceed with that, please?

Mr. TAYLOR. When the A. F. of L. purged itself from the Communists in 1937 and completely destroyed the Communist influence in the Federated Trades and Labor Council, the Communists in the retail clerks union, most of them, began to get desperate and felt that they would be expelled from that union and their charter lifted.

so they determined to try to pull this organization into the CIO, to desert the A. F. of L. The result was that the Communists put the pressure on the leadership of the clerks union, most of whom were not Communists, and convinced them of the necessity of calling an election of the entire membership to vote whether to join the CIO. At this period—I should mention this was the period of the famous sit-down strikes—if you remember back 16 or 17 years ago there was a national wave of sitdown strikes in department stores, clerk sit-down strikes. It just lasted a few months but it was sort of a mass hysteria that swept the country as a mass enthusiasm of clerks hoping to get wage increases by sitdown strikes. I believe these sitdown strikes followed similar sitdown strikes in automotive industries and others. So there had been a large influx of clerks into the retail clerks union in 1937. As I say, the membership meetings were in the hundreds of this one local. One of the Communists, whose name I do not recall, he was recording secretary of the local, he was ordered by the union officials to send out postcards to every member of the retail clerks union to advise them an important meeting was coming up at such-and-such a day and place to decide whether to remain in the A. F. of L. or to go into the CIO clerks, and this Communist, whether by accident or purposely, I never knew, he neglected to mail out the cards of membership, possibly feeling that the membership would not vote for it. The result was that we had a large hall and only 20 or 25 people, clerks, showed up who were close enough to the organization to know about it. The membership wasn't there, and it was at this—

Mr. TAVENNER. Were the Communist Party members there?

Mr. TAYLOR. Oh, yes; the Communist Party members were there.

Mr. TAVENNER. A hundred percent?

Mr. TAYLOR. One hundred percent, and of course, they outvoted the non-Communists who wanted to stay in the A. F. of L. And at this meeting a vote was taken over my protest, I didn't agree with it at all. I was the only—

Mr. TAVENNER. So you were the only Communist that did?

Mr. TAYLOR. I was the only Communist who got up and said we should not hold a vote without the entire membership there since a mistake had been made and the cards were not sent out, and I was under a cloud with the Communists for a month or two as a result of my bucking the policy of this Communist faction, but as a result of that meeting, the clerks union in the A. F. of L. was completely destroyed. The membership, the hundreds, it may have been thousands of members, when they read the newspapers the next day that the Retail Clerks Union switched to CIO, they said to themselves, "Why weren't we notified, who is running this organization, a clique." and naturally since this was done undemocratically, the entire membership melted away, like ice on a hot day, and some of them even mailed in their cards and said, "I wouldn't have anything more to do with such an undemocratic organization." and it hurt the prestige of the A. F. of L., such skulduggery, and it also ruined a good union, and the charter, of course, when this happened, the A. F. of L. immediately picked up the charter and the books and everything, because the union had left the A. F. of L., and that was the end of the Communist experiment in the destruction of a good trade union.

Mr. JACKSON. Were you disciplined in any way for your action in opposing the vote at that time?

Mr. TAYLOR. No, because it was obvious in a few days that the Communist faction had made a mistake, so the other members of the faction were disciplined in a way and some of them left town. When it was discovered that they had made a mistake, they failed to swing the organization bodily into the CIO, that was the Communist desire, and since they had failed to do that, they lost their prestige and I gained a small amount of prestige with the Communist leadership for having followed the correct policy, although I was not successful in what I attempted.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, in view of the witness' statement that he gained a little prestige from having taken the only correct policy, however, the action you took was not the policy of the Communist Party before you took it, was it? In other words, the actions you took were contrary to the Communist Party, actually?

Mr. TAYLOR. The Communist Party gave orders to the Communist faction in the Retail Clerks Union to swing the A. F. of L. union into the CIO, but they didn't intend for it to be done in such a clumsy fashion that it really destroyed the organization. They wished to control it, but they didn't at that time wish to completely destroy it.

Mr. TAVENNER. The only opposition on your part to the Communist Party was the holding of the meeting without notice; isn't that correct?

Mr. TAYLOR. That is correct. And the Communist who neglected to mail out those cards was practically banished, because he left town shortly afterward. He was being criticized too severely by the Communist leadership.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he actually employed as a clerk?

Mr. TAYLOR. He was probably the only Communist who was a clerk. He worked as a shoe clerk. I really don't remember his name.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, after that fatal mistake, or fatal action, whichever it may have been, on his part, in not mailing the notices to the membership, what did he do?

Mr. TAYLOR. What did he do?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. TAYLOR. He tried to explain to the union leadership that he had given the cards to somebody to mail, and they had neglected to, but he never did bring forth any such person, and nobody believed his story. They sensed that he had simply overlooked mailing the notices on purpose.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did he make any explanation to the Communist Party members in any Communist Party group meeting?

Mr. TAYLOR. I didn't attend any investigation that the Communist Party held over this. They undoubtedly did. The Communist leadership in San Diego undoubtedly had an investigation in San Diego as to how it happened that this Communist group completely destroyed a union. I wasn't at such a meeting and I do not know what transpired.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did this individual make any statement to you as to his purpose in leaving San Diego or the reason for his leaving?

Mr. TAYLOR. Yes. He said he didn't care for the climate in San Diego any more; that he thought he would go to a different altitude, Salt Lake City.

Mr. TAVENNER. So he left not only the Communist Party here, but he left his job?

Mr. TAYLOR. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. And went into other fields?

Mr. TAYLOR. That is right.

Mr. JACKSON. And left a very fine climate.

Mr. TAYLOR. And a good climate.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, did that end your activity within a labor union?

Mr. TAYLOR. Yes. That ended my activity in the American Federation of Labor, and all of the other Communists who had endeavored to capture the American Federation of Labor in 1937, and the Communists never did regain their influence in the American Federation of Labor in San Diego.

Mr. TAVENNER. So that was the climax of the unsuccessful efforts of the Communist Party to control labor unions in this area?

Mr. TAYLOR. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is, as far as your knowledge is concerned.

Mr. TAYLOR. As far as my knowledge is concerned.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you tell the committee about when your activities within the clerks union were thus terminated?

Mr. TAYLOR. I don't remember the date of this period. It was early in 1937 when the charter was lifted of the Federated Trades and Labor Council, and then the Retail Clerks Union was smashed by the Communists. I don't know the month.

Mr. TAVENNER. During this period of time when you were active in this union, did you engage in other Communist Party activities?

Mr. TAYLOR. Yes. In early 1937 the State Federation of Labor held a convention in San Diego at the Eagles' Hall, and the Communists attempted on a statewide scale to capture that. And they managed to get as many Communists as possible sent from unions throughout California, to send them as delegates to this convention of the American Federation of Labor in 1937, hoping to capture it. The leadership at that time was under an anti-Communist group. I was not a delegate, but I was an observer and reporter with Stanley Hancock. We attended all meetings of this AFL convention, took notes and watched the progress of the Communist Party trying to capture it. But they completely failed to have enough Communist delegates, and this, of course, was early in 1937, earlier than the incidents which I have just previously mentioned.

Mr. TAVENNER. All of which demonstrates the importance of a local labor organization being alert and resisting the inroads of the Communist Party on the lowest levels of their unions.

Mr. TAYLOR. That is correct.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Counsel, if I may comment at that point, I should state that we have hundreds of pages of sworn testimony which indicates beyond any peradventure of a doubt that apathy on the part of the bulk of a membership of any given organization has contributed greatly to Communist efforts. In some instances labor unions, youth groups, schools, and churches have been infiltrated and taken over by this small minority to which this witness has referred.

Sometimes we feel, on the committee, too much stress is laid upon the point of numbers. It is quite obvious from the testimony of this

witness that it required a very small number of members of the Communist Party to exercise its will upon the majority of the members of the group, and in effect, completely control and disrupt the activities of the organization.

That, I say again, is well established in testimony. There are hundreds and probably thousands of pages of testimony which indicate that that apathy, that neglect of responsibility of the membership in organizations has led directly to Communist control of the group.

Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. What other Communist activities were you engaged in during this period?

Mr. TAYLOR. I was expected to help in youth work in the organization called the Young Communist League, and with the destruction of the clerks union by the Communists, I was sent into a new organization called the Workers' Alliance, which was created out of the old Unemployed Councils.

The Workers' Alliance was a national Communist-front organization.

Mr. TAVENNER. Before you tell us about your experience in that organization, let me ask you if you did any writing or editorial work during the period that you were also engaged in union activities?

Mr. TAYLOR. Yes. I was a reporter for the People's World and shortly after, late in 1937 or 1938, I was made a reporter for the Daily Worker in New York.

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you an identification card saying, "This is to certify that Dan Forrest Taylor is a special correspondent of the Daily Worker," signed, "C. A. Hathaway, editor of the Daily Worker." That is your identification card?

Mr. TAYLOR. Yes; it is.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the nature of your work as a representative of the Daily Worker?

Mr. TAYLOR. I was supposed to send them an average of one article a day about the events, usually Communist-inspired events, which were transpiring in San Diego. They also wanted me to write full-page fiction and articles for their magazine section, which I did do on occasion.

The Daily Worker and the People's World of San Francisco published 1 or 2 articles in each issue by me.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the function of the People's World in this area?

Mr. TAYLOR. The People's World was not labeled a Communist paper. It had grown out of an official Communist paper called the Western Worker, which was also published in San Francisco and which carried on its masthead, "Official Organ of the Communist Party in California."

The People's World endeavored to rid itself of the Communist label and become a broader paper and to get subscribers who were not Communists.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, this paper may have attempted to get rid of its label, but according to the testimony in San Francisco last December it was shown by members of their staff that virtually the entire staff membership were members of the Communist Party, that they accepted Communist Party directives as to the editorial

content of the paper, and this committee, as you know, is now engaged in the work of an investigation of that periodical.

Mr. JACKSON. Yes. The witness David Blodgett, who was a reporter for the Daily People's World, testified fully as to the extent of Communist direction of the Daily People's World, and stated that it was an organ of Communist opinion and was used in large part to bring to the attention of Communist Party members the current and official line of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Witness, I understood you to say that this group endeavored to get rid of the party label. Do you know why it desired to get rid of the party label although still being operated and managed through directives of the Communist Party?

Mr. TAYLOR. Yes. For the reason that when it was labeled the Western Worker on the second page over the editorial page had the wording, "Official Organ of the Communist Party," they had no success at all in making this paper popular; they couldn't gain subscribers outside of their own Communist Party members, and when they would distribute this paper to union meetings, the average A. F. of L. member would take the papers and tear them up.

Mr. TAVENNER. Isn't the reason for that the fact that the Communist Party could not sell its line directly to the people of this country, that they must resort to deceit and circumvention in order to accomplish its purpose?

Mr. TAYLOR. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. And therefore knowledge of their activities and the nature of them is essential for people to appraise their efforts and their work and to evaluate it?

Mr. TAYLOR. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee any further experiences you had as a representative of that paper? Tell the committee, please, how your connection with the People's World was obtained.

Mr. TAYLOR. Well, that was simply an assignment which Stanley Hancock and the county executive committee asked of me while I was writing for the Trade Union News much of the same material, usually just a carbon copy I mailed, was supposed to mail to the People's World and the Daily Worker.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you receive any compensation for articles that you sent to the People's World?

Mr. TAYLOR. No. If a Communist receives a party assignment he is not supposed to be compensated. That is just another of his tasks.

Mr. JACKSON. That was not the case of a paid party functionary?

Mr. TAYLOR. There was only one paid party functionary at that time and that was Stanley Hancock, and I don't believe that he was on the payroll directly. He received an expense account.

Mr. JACKSON. The point is that not all of the assignments in the Communist Party are a labor of love. Some are paid.

Mr. TAYLOR. Oh, definitely. But I can only speak of San Diego. Oh, definitely, they have a great number of people on their payroll.

Mr. JACKSON. Is this a good time to take a break, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. TAVENNER. This is a convenient place, yes.

Mr. JACKSON. Before we take a break, there is always brought up in the course of these hearings the matter of the jurisdiction of the committee.

I am willing to prophesy that in a number of cases during this hearing the authority of the jurisdiction of the committee will be questioned. I would like to have Mr. Doyle read into the record for me the authority and the jurisdiction of the committee.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, I think it well that the group here in this room or any person hearing the proceedings be reminded that this subcommittee is here under Public Law 601, enacted by the 79th Congress in 1946. I read the text thereof:

The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (1) the extent, character, and objects of Un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (2) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and Un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (3) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses, and the production of such books, papers, and documents; and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary, subpoenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

The Committee on Un-American Activities consists of nine members.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I haven't spoken to you of this, but as I entered the hall here this morning an hour ago, there was handed to me on lettersize paper without any official heading thereon, a mimeographed sheet entitled, "The Time Has Come." Of course, that is the freedom of an American citizen to hand out literature. Thank God it is, and I know we will always fight for that freedom of the press and freedom of public expression, but as you know, I am a registered Democrat.

Mr. JACKSON. I have heard of that.

Mr. DOYLE. You have heard it said and I am very proud of it. But at the bottom of this sheet the only indication of who is responsible for it is this: "Thirtieth District Young Democrats."

Now, while I live in Los Angeles County, I am not familiar with whether there is such an organization as 30th District Young Democrats or not, but I think, Mr. Chairman, the public is entitled to know whether or not there is such an official group of Young Democrats in San Diego County, and if there is who the officers thereof are, and I would like to say that I, as a Democrat, would appreciate very much if there is such an organized group of San Diego County, that they will identify themselves to me during these hearings so we may know whether this is just a phony designation by whoever wrote up this sheet, or whether or not a really constituted group of young American citizens is sponsoring this. Again I say if they are it is their perfect right, but I do think that a sheet like this, the public is entitled to know who the officers thereof are and whether there is in fact such an organization.

The reason I make that statement is that I as a Democrat would appreciate knowing whether or not the Democratic organization is really sponsoring that announcement.

If there is, during the hearings I would like to have that organization identified to me just as a neighbor Democrat of southern California.

Thank you very much.

Mr. JACKSON. Thank you, Mr. Doyle.

That is not to be interpreted as any partisan byplay on the part of the committee, because this committee prides itself on the fact that our approach to this work must necessarily be bipartisan and non-partisan. Those that would like to divide us would like nothing better than to insert a wedge between the members of the committee. I make this statement as chairman of this subcommittee, and as one who has approached his labors on this committee, as have all the members of the committee, in the spirit of Public Law 601, and with the determination not to be swerved from the duty which has been laid on us by the Congress of the United States.

At this time the committee will stand in recess.

(Whereupon a short recess was taken.)

Mr. JACKSON. The committee will be in order. Will the witness take the chair, please?

Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Taylor, it has been called to my attention that the identification card issued to you by the Daily Worker carried your name as Dan Forrest Taylor, where your middle name, according to your testimony, is some other name. Will you explain that to us?

Mr. TAYLOR. Yes, that is correct. I began writing in 1933 under the name of Dan Forrest Taylor because by father, who was a teacher of mathematics at San Diego High School for 25 years had the same name as mine, and I didn't wish my writings to be confused with him. My father had written 6 mathematics text books which were in use all over the United States in public schools, so for that reason I dropped the middle name Pomeroy and used Forrest as my pen name, Dan Forrest Taylor.

Mr. TAVENNER. During the period of time that you were working as associate editor of the Trade Union News, did you also do editorial work for a paper known as Common Sense?

Mr. TAYLOR. Not at that time. In late 1937 or possibly 1938 the Communist Party made me the editor of a biweekly, 8-page paper in San Diego entitled "Common Sense," which expired after a few months, 6 or 7 months.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was it staffed and financed by the Communist Party?

Mr. TAYLOR. Yes, it was.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was your position with it?

Mr. TAYLOR. I was the editor.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did it have a business manager or other executive?

Mr. TAYLOR. No, it didn't have. It had a staff of 3 or 4 people who helped publish it, and they usually rotated, changed the staff, different people sometimes every issue.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, who were associated with that publication, as far as you can recall?

Mr. TAYLOR. There was only one I can recall, and that was the organizer of the East San Diego unit of the Communist Party, a woman named Keckler.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall a person by the name of Orville James having been connected with that publication?

Mr. TAYLOR. No, Orville James was not connected with the paper Common Sense to my knowledge.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Orville James?

Mr. TAYLOR. Yes, he was an excellent artist, did the drawings for the CIO Aircraft News in 1937-39.

Mr. TAVENNER. But he was not connected in any way with Common Sense?

Mr. TAYLOR. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether or not he was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. TAYLOR. Yes, he was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you give any further identifying information as to the group that he was a member of or his activities within the Communist Party?

Mr. TAYLOR. I don't know too much about him. He worked at Solar Aircraft and was an artist for the Aircraft News in those early days. I have no idea what he is doing now. I think he left San Diego about 1939.

Mr. TAVENNER. I believe you told the committee upon the completion of your sojourn in the labor field that you—

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, may I just at that point interrupt the witness? Of course, I don't know Orville James, but I am wondering Mr. Chairman, if that is sufficient identification of him as a member of the Communist Party. For me it is not, if that is all you are going to get about Orville James. I would feel that the witness ought to identify him more than he has, how he knows he is a member of the Communist Party, or was.

Mr. JACKSON. I think he should, if the witness can, give some information relative to Orville James, whether or not you knew him as a member of the Communist Party, or whether or not you attended closed sessions of the Communist Party with him, whether he himself identified himself to you as a member of the Communist Party, or just from what source does your information come.

Mr. TAYLOR. Yes, I saw him at closed meetings of the Communist Party, and he on occasions mentioned to me that he was a member. I knew him as a member.

Mr. JACKSON. Very well. That is sufficient.

Mr. TAVENNER. You indicated that after the completion of your work within the field of labor that you became a member of the Workers' Alliance. Will you tell the committee what led up to that assignment to you?

Mr. TAYLOR. Well, I was working for the Federal Writers' Project at that time and since my activities had made me known as a Communist in San Diego, I was no longer effective in any union field, so I was assigned to work in the Workers' Alliance and to edit their newspaper, which I did for 3 years.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the newspaper called?

Mr. TAYLOR. The Organizer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you have any other experience connected with the Workers' Alliance?

Mr. TAYLOR. In 1939 I was made organizer of the professional local of the Workers' Alliance which was attempting to bring in white-collar workers, artists, singers, and all the cultural field in which the Works Progress Administration at that time had many professional people employed and it was felt a local strictly for them would be more to their liking.

Mr. TAVENNER. To what extent was the Communist Party interested in the work of the Workers' Alliance?

Mr. TAYLOR. The Communist Party controlled and directed every move of the Workers' Alliance in San Diego.

Mr. TAVENNER. It did what? I didn't understand.

Mr. TAYLOR. It directed and controlled it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee how it obtained that much influence within the Workers' Alliance?

Mr. TAYLOR. Well, actually the Communist Party was the founder, organizer of the Workers' Alliance. It originally was the Unemployed Council, and it was simply a matter of changing its name. The Workers' Alliance in open meeting affiliated itself with a national body called the Workers' Alliance, which was a Communist front also and the majority of the leaders of the Workers' Alliance in San Diego were Communist Party members.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you tell the the committee at this time any particular projects or any particular objectives that the Communist Party was able to bring about within the Workers' Alliance?

Mr. TAYLOR. Well, the Workers' Alliance, which was an organization of over a thousand members, I don't remember the number, probably between one and two thousand, engaged in various political activities. Its work was similar to that of the Unemployed Council's, except that the Workers' Alliance did not admit to being Communist. The Communist leaders in it were advised generally to deny that they were Communists to the public, and they did not want, similar to their newspaper, they wanted to give it a non-Communist appearance, and that was the attempt that was made by the Workers' Alliance. Their activities, as I say, were approximately the same as the Unemployed Council's. They endeavored to get people in the relief and WPA that were friendly to the Workers' Alliance. If there were hostile people here, why, the Workers' Alliance put on a campaign to have them removed or sent elsewhere. It was a matter of building up the prestige of the Workers' Alliance with the local authorities of the Works Progress Administration and county welfare and relief.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you remain active in the Workers' Alliance?

Mr. TAYLOR. Until early in 1940.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, who as members of the Communist Party were active in the work of the Workers' Alliance in addition to yourself?

Mr. TAYLOR. The organizer of the Workers' Alliance was a man named C. V. Wahlenmaier. He was also a member of the county executive committee of the Communist Party and was the Communist director for that line of work for that field. The others I mentioned, Jones and Newsome, they were the principal guiding lights of the Workers' Alliance. They were the hardest workers in that organiza-

tion, and then, of course, there were other Communists that came and went over the years, some for a few months, and others for a year, but I don't recall many of their names.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, you have told us of this second group of the Communist Party to which you were assigned, and I think that was from a period in 1936 on up to the end of your Communist Party activities in San Diego. Was there a third group during that period?

Mr. TAYLOR. There was a third group.

Mr. TAVENNER. Before we come to the third group, will you tell the committee, please, who composed this second group? I am told you have already given us that testimony. Then let us proceed with the third group.

Mr. TAYLOR. The third group, that is the third unit of the Communist Party which I was sent into in 1937, was composed of much the same people as the second group with the addition of Esco Richardson, Jen Richardson, and C. V. Wahlenmaier. That is all I can think of at the moment. It was a group of 14 to 20 people. It varied.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with a person by the name of LaVerne Lym, L-y-m?

Mr. TAYLOR. Yes; he was also a member of that unit for a year or two.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether he was also on the executive committee of the Communist Party?

Mr. TAYLOR. Yes; he was made a member of the county executive committee of the Communist Party in 1938, I believe, when he was appointed People's World director for San Diego County. He was in charge of circulation of the People's World in the city.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you write for that paper during the period of time he was circulation manager, did you say?

Mr. TAYLOR. Yes; that is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. You did?

Mr. TAYLOR. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall his wife as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. TAYLOR. Yes; his wife's name was Frances, and she was also a member of my unit, Communist unit.

Mr. TAVENNER. During this period of time from 1936 to 1940, when you were a member of the second and third group which you have described, did you hold any office in either of those local groups of the Communist Party?

Mr. TAYLOR. Yes; I was invariably the educational director of my unit in the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. What were your duties as educational director?

Mr. TAYLOR. My duties were to give or lead a 1-hour discussion in each week at our unit meeting on some interests of particular importance at that particular week, some issue that the Communist Party was interested in, or sometimes the education discussions were on more theoretical matters, but my job was to give assignments to members of my Communist unit to make short reports so as to involve them in the discussion, and also to see that the members of my Communist unit kept up with their reading. The Communists are supposed to spend a few hours every week reading Communist pamphlets, books, and newspapers, and it is the duty of the educational director of the unit to see that they are keeping up with their reading, and particularly

that they are not spending any time reading anti-Communist literature or seeing that they don't even read the regular press.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall that there was an effort made by the Communist Party to prevent its membership from reading literature or periodicals against the Communist Party?

Mr. TAYLOR. Oh, yes: this was the policy of the Communist Party. A member who was caught reading an anti-Communist book would find himself in very serious difficulties.

Mr. TAVENNER. What do you mean by serious difficulties?

Mr. TAYLOR. Well, he could be brought up on charges, charges of expulsion, charges of what they call deviationism. He would find himself suspect. They would say, "If you have any time to read, read the Communist publications, don't read those that are hostile." And they had so many publications put out, they put out so many scores of pamphlets each year and dozens of books and scores of magazines, that it is almost impossible for the average Communist to even keep up with the flood of material that the Communists put out in this country.

So if they have any time to read, the educational director is supposed to see, and his county organizer, unit organizer, is supposed to see that they read Communist material only.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. May I ask this question: Did I understand the Communist Party tried to keep the Communist Party members from even reading the daily press? I think I heard you say that.

Mr. TAYLOR. Yes. If it was discovered they were reading the local press rather than—if they were reading it and ignoring the People's World, this was a serious thing, so considered by the Communist leadership. It was perfectly all right to read the daily press in San Diego or any other daily metropolitan daily press if they read the People's World as well.

Mr. DOYLE. What was your experience as educational director, did you find many of them that were neglecting the Communist paper in favor of the daily press or vice versa?

Mr. TAYLOR. I found that the membership, I would say 100 percent, subscribed or bought the People's World. This was expected of them, and most of them, 95 percent of them, refused to read the metropolitan press, of this city.

Mr. JACKSON. That all has a slight odor of book burning.

Mr. TAYLOR. Yes.

Mr. JACKSON. About which the Daily Worker and the People's World make such a clamor when it concerns any other particular philosophy.

Proceed, counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. During the period that you were the educational director, did you receive any instructions from any particular member of the Communist Party on a higher level?

Mr. TAYLOR. While I was a member of the county executive committee, while I was county educational director, did I receive orders from higher levels?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. TAYLOR. Yes. I received directives from the State Communist Party headquarters in San Francisco at 121 Eighth Street as to methods of conducting, methods of holding educationals, and as to

classes that we held in San Diego. One duty of the county educational director was to hold public classes in communism and allied subjects, also to hold private party schools, and I was also in charge of mass meetings, rallies, in organizing them, meetings that were held by the Communist Party or by front organizations that we completely controlled.

Mr. TAVENNER. What other positions did you hold in the Communist Party?

Mr. TAYLOR. I was manager of International Book Shop in San Diego for nearly 4 years.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where was that bookshop located?

Mr. TAYLOR. At 635 E Street.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee about the history of its establishment and its objectives and what part the Communist Party played in its operations.

Mr. TAYLOR. It had been set up, probably in 1933 or 1934, possibly 1934. It had been set up by the Communist Party under a State license obtained in the name of the Workers' Club, of San Diego, offices at 852 Eighth Street. The bookshop was located on the second floor at 852 Eighth Street, and the Communist leadership decided that it would be better to have this bookshop on the main floor on the street where it would attract a larger group of people because generally it was only Communists that walked upstairs at 852 Eighth Street. The others would be afraid of getting kicked downstairs.

So in 1935, toward the last of the year, the premises at 653 E Street at San Diego, were rented by the Workers' Club. The Workers' Club was an underground licensed, legally licensed, organization in California, licensed under the laws of California.

Mr. TAVENNER. What do you mean by referring to it as an underground club?

Mr. TAYLOR. Well, in the early, very early 1930's the Communist Party wanted to open up headquarters in San Diego but they didn't dare do so under the name of the Communist Party, so they incorporated themselves into an organization called the Workers' Club, which was simply another name for the Communist Party. They were the organization that rented their various Communist Party headquarters. It was a legal organization so it couldn't be outlawed.

The bookshop in San Diego had a regular yearly license which it paid the State, I think it was \$25 a year, which was the bookstore license in those days, and the Workers' Club paid that license each year, but the bookstore itself attempted to have a broader selection of books than just Communist, after it moved to its new location, and generally the books in the window were not of a Communist nature in order to attract non-Communists.

Mr. TAVENNER. What about the books on the shelves?

Mr. TAYLOR. About 90 percent of the books on the shelves were Communist and the rest were innocuous; we had nothing anti-Communist.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was the bookshop used in any way in the plan of recruiting members into the Communist Party?

Mr. TAYLOR. Yes, it was a field for recruiting. Wherever the Communist Party issued leaflets in San Diego, and they distributed tens of thousands of leaflets over San Diego each year, the address on the leaflets was always 653 E Street, International Book Shop, so some

people who were curious or interested would come in and buy material I talk with me and the other people. I wasn't the clerk there very much. There were other clerks but I managed the store in the evening, that is, the business end of it.

MR. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee what other positions you held in the Communist Party in San Diego? Weren't you at one time the chairman of the San Diego unit of the Communist Party?

MR. TAYLOR. That is right. After Paul Alexander left as county chairman of the Communist Party, a position which he held for several years, I in 1939 and early 1940 was made chairman of the county organization of the Communist Party, and then following that, in mid-1940 I was made county organizer after Esco Richardson left. Esco Richardson was the leader of the party after Stanley Hancock left in 1937.

MR. TAVENNER. Now, as head of the Communist Party in San Diego, how did you receive your directives from the Communist Party as to the course that you should follow?

MR. TAYLOR. The directive, the leadership of the Communist Party was, of course, undertaken by the county executive committee, a body of 6 to 8 people, the most active, well-read, well-versed Communists in the county, but at that time in 1940 and also in late 1939, the State of California sent an underground organizer to San Diego to more or less guide it, to be the actual boss of the Communist Party. He was not known publicly. He was a very secret individual; he was completely unknown to the authorities, the police, but he gave the principal orders and directives to the Communist Party.

MR. TAVENNER. Who was that individual?

MR. TAYLOR. That man's name was Leech, Bert Leech. He was sent to San Diego on the payroll of the Communist Party at San Francisco, and he was the actual boss of the Communist Party in 1940, although I was known as the leader of the party, and he gave, of course, many orders to me.

MR. TAVENNER. Did he use any form of employment or have occasion to conceal his true identity?

MR. TAYLOR. I don't remember whether he worked, or if he worked, am not familiar with that.

MR. JACKSON. Mr. Counsel, not to anticipate your questions, but as county organizer, Mr. Taylor, you must have been in a position to know the number of branches which were then operating in the county. Can you give us an estimate as to that number?

MR. TAYLOR. It varied between 12 and 18 units or branches of the Communist Party in San Diego County. I believe it was 12 in 1940. The membership was falling every year from 1935 to 1940. The membership was constantly declining in the Communist Party and a number of branches were declining.

MR. JACKSON. What was the reason for that decline?

MR. TAYLOR. Well, the fact that the people were better off economically, the country was pulling out of the depression, and Communists, as a rule, do not remain very long in the party because they soon realize that it is an un-American organization and that it is two faced completely; that it will say nice things on the surface, that is, make promises to people for many fine goals and then the members discover that the Communist Party is not sincere and does not actually believe

in the program that it spreads among the people in order to fool the people.

Mr. JACKSON. Could you give us any estimate as to the number of members or the total membership as of the period in question when you say there were 12 to 18 branches in operation; what would that have constituted in point of numbers?

Mr. TAYLOR. I never saw the membership books of the Communist Party. In fact, the members of the county membership director were never even supposed to show them to the county executive committee. They never let their left hand know what their right hand was doing. They kept that membership as secret as possible. I was told when I joined in 1935 there were 300 or 400 members. The membership director said to me at one time when I inquired as to how many there were, she said 300 or 400 members.

Mr. JACKSON. Who was the membership director?

Mr. TAYLOR. Mrs. Keckler at that time, I believe.

Mr. JACKSON. Proceed, Counsel.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, I don't understand your observation wherein you say that Communist Party members don't stay in very long. You stayed in about 6 years before you got your eyes open. That is a long time in my book. Why did you stay in so long?

Mr. TAYLOR. I became known within a year or two, say the first year and a half, I became known to the San Diego press as a Communist, my name began appearing in the newspapers quite often, and I had gotten myself out on a limb. I wasn't able to obtain employment in San Diego without—I mean, no one wanted to employ a known Communist, so it was a matter of simply drifting, you might say that is, I remained a member, although each year I began to realize more and more that it was a very diabolical organization.

Mr. DOYLE. When did you first begin to realize it was a very diabolical organization?

Mr. TAYLOR. It began dawning on me in 1938.

Mr. DOYLE. In other words, you were 3 years old then in the Communist Party?

Mr. TAYLOR. That is right.

Mr. JACKSON. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you at any time become a member of the State central committee of the Communist Party?

Mr. TAYLOR. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Our investigation shows that that occurred in 1940; is that correct?

Mr. TAYLOR. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee how membership in the State central committee was obtained by you?

Mr. TAYLOR. The Communist Party did not have elections for their leaders. The members of the executive committee of the Communist Party of San Diego were always co-opted. This means that the top leadership selects likely active Communists to leadership without any vote of the membership or without any vote of the Communist group. The members of the State central committee of the Communist Party are selected in the same way. The San Diego Communist membership was never asked to choose its State leaders. The State leadership selected them and I was selected in 1940 by the State leadership in San Francisco to be on that committee, the State central committee.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, what your functions were as a member of that committee?

Mr. TAYLOR. I was supposed to attend meetings of the State central committee at least once every other month and to carry directives from the State leadership to the county leadership in San Diego.

Mr. TAVENNER. All right; if you will proceed, if there is anything else about your work on the State central committee.

Mr. TAYLOR. Well, of course, we generally have to make a report to the meetings of the State central committee of Communist Party as to activities in San Diego, and I was often questioned as to successes or failures of the party in San Diego.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, in addition to the regular work of the State central committee, was it necessary to have certain legally named persons recorded at Sacramento under the laws of the State of California as members who may be in fact different from the actual members of the State central committee?

Mr. TAYLOR. Yes, that is correct. Any legal political organization must file with the registrar a list of their members of the State committee.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether in filing those lists the Communist Party always reported for recording purposes the true names of the members of the State central committee?

Mr. TAYLOR. The names that were filed in Sacramento with the state registrar, is that it?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes. State secretary, I believe.

Mr. TAYLOR. State secretary. These were not necessarily the names of the Communist State leadership. This was more of a dummy committee. They did not want the true State leaders known, so actually there were two State committees of the Communist Party in California. One was actually a fraudulent committee, dummy committees, whose names were sent to Sacramento, and then there was the true committee which held the reins of leadership which met in San Francisco.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, you were a member of the true committee in 1940, were you not?

Mr. TAYLOR. I was a member of both committees.

Mr. TAVENNER. Why was it that your name was used on this fraudulent group that you speak of, or the dummy committee which was given to the Secretary of State?

Mr. TAYLOR. It was necessary to have Communist registered voters in that State committee which were registered at Sacramento and there were only a few Communists in San Diego, only a half dozen, I believe, who registered Communist at the courthouse, so naturally those names had to be used with the State registrar in Sacramento.

Mr. TAVENNER. So in your case, for instance, it was publicly known that you were a member of the Communist Party, and therefore your name would be on both groups, both the one that was registered with the Secretary of State as well as the active membership of the committee?

Mr. TAYLOR. Well, the Communist Party ordered me in late 1937 or early 1938 to register Communist at the courthouse in San Diego, for the reasons that they needed, there had to be, they said, a certain number of registered Communists in order for the Communist Party to stay on the ballot, and they made sure in every county that there

were half a dozen or more people registered as Communists. Otherwise, if there were no one registered as Communist, the Communist Party would be thrown off the ballot.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, I hand you a photostatic copy of the list of Communist Party members of the State central committee of September 19, 1940, which, Mr. Chairman, the committee obtained through a subpoena duces tecum, and I will ask you to examine the list and state whether or not your name appears as one of the members. Will you look at the back page?

Mr. TAYLOR. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you identify any persons from San Diego who were members of the State central committee for that year whose names do not appear on the official list registered with the Secretary of State? I can simply file the matter—

Mr. TAYLOR. I believe I understand your question.

Mr. TAVENNER. I want to find out if there were any persons who were members of the actual committee whose names were not reported publicly to the Secretary of State as required by law?

Mr. TAYLOR. Throughout the State of California?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes; if you know of any members of that committee.

Mr. TAYLOR. I see one name missing here. The head of the State Communist organization in California and the leader of the State central committee's name isn't on the members registered with the Secretary of State. His name was William Schneiderman. His name isn't there. No, it is here. My mistake. William Schneiderman. Then there was a Betty Gannett. Betty Gannett's name is not here. She was the second most important Communist leader in California.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, we have gone through the alphabetical list, and just as an aid and to save time, we have listed those in that document whose addresses are given as San Diego, Calif. and I will read them for the benefit of the witness.

Clair Aderer, Mellisse Gragg, La Verne Lym, Esco Richardsor Dan Taylor: All with the address of San Diego.

Now, were all of those persons members of the actual functioning committee or were some of them the names just used for the fraudulent purposes you mentioned earlier in your testimony?

Mr. TAYLOR. Yes. The only two of those names you read, the only two that were on the actual State central committee were Esco Richardson and myself, and this other name which you mentioned, Mellisse Gragg, was not a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Not a member?

Mr. TAYLOR. Not a member. Could I interpolate a statement here?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. TAYLOR. I would like to say that proves to me, although I didn't know this, that proves to me that the trick the Communist played in Los Angeles about the same time was putting the name of Lucille Ball on this Communist committee, and I believe Lucille Ball was never a Communist, but her name appeared on this, isn't that right?

Mr. TAVENNER. That is true.

Mr. TAYLOR. I knew Mellisse Gragg personally. She was a very nice little old lady about 70 years old at that time and she was not a member of the Communist Party, and her name appears here, which

s proof to me that Lucille Ball's name was put there, although she was probably not a Communist.

Mr. TAVENNER. La Verne Lym, that name appears there. Was that person known to you as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. TAYLOR. Yes; he was the People's World director.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Clair Aderer?

Mr. TAYLOR. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was that person a member of the Communist Party to your knowledge?

Mr. TAYLOR. Yes; she was a rank-and-file member.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were there any members of the actual functioning committee whose names do not appear in the list for 1940 that were filed with the secretary of state?

Mr. TAYLOR. In San Diego?

Mr. TAVENNER. In San Diego.

Mr. TAYLOR. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer the document in evidence and ask that it be marked "Taylor exhibit No. 1," Mr. Chairman.

Mr. JACKSON. It will be admitted.

(The document above referred to was marked "Taylor Exhibit No. 1" for identification and received in evidence.)¹

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, we have also produced under subpoena duces tecum, similar records for the years 1934, 1936, and 1942, which I would like to have introduced into evidence and ask they be marked "Taylor exhibits Nos. 2, 3, and 4."

Mr. JACKSON. They will be admitted.

(The documents above referred to were marked "Taylor Exhibits Nos. 2, 3, and 4" for identification and received in evidence.)¹

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, for the sake of saving time, rather than to have the witness search out these names alphabetically in the list, the staff has prepared a list from these records of persons with addresses at San Diego who were reported to the secretary of state for the years 1934, 1936, and 1942. I believe they should be read into the record.

Mr. JACKSON. Very well.

Mr. TAVENNER. For the sake of clarity.

Mr. DOYLE. Reported to the secretary of state as the State committee of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. As a matter of record in the State at Sacramento.

As I read these names, Mr. Taylor, I wish you would state whether or not they are known to you personally, from your own personal knowledge, to have been members of the Communist Party.

There may be others here, as in the instance of the person you mentioned a few months ago, Miss or Mrs. Gragg, who may not have been members of the party.

Robert S. Anguis. This is for the year 1934.

Mr. TAYLOR. I did not know the man.

Mr. TAVENNER. You were not a member of the Communist Party in 1934?

Mr. TAYLOR. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you at any later time acquire any knowledge, personal knowledge, regarding Robert S. Anguis?

¹ Retained in committee files.

Mr. TAYLOR. How do you spell that name?

Mr. TAVENNER. A-n-g-u-i-s.

Mr. TAYLOR. I never heard the name until this minute.

Mr. TAVENNER. Forest Beyrer.

Mr. TAYLOR. I knew Forest Beyrer as a Communist. He quit the Communist Party shortly after I entered it.

Mr. TAVENNER. William H. Bradley, 4127 Marlborough, San Diego, Calif.

Mr. TAYLOR. I can't place any such person.

Mr. TAVENNER. William O. Grady, 3646 45th Street, San Diego.

Mr. TAYLOR. Yes. Is that Brady or Grady?

Mr. TAVENNER. Grady, G-r-a-d-y.

Mr. TAYLOR. Yes, there was a carpenter named Bill Grady in the Communist Party in 1934 and part of 1935. He dropped out about the time I entered.

Mr. TAVENNER. Nathaniel Griffin, 4056 8th Avenue.

Mr. TAYLOR. Nathaniel Griffin dropped out of the Communist Party before I entered. At least that is what he told me, and I believe it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Stanley B. Hancock has already been identified by you. Claude L. Jones, J-o-n-e-s, Route 1, Box 83.

Mr. TAYLOR. Claude Jones was also a carpenter and he told me that he dropped out of the Communist Party just before I entered it.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have identified Bessie A. Keckler.

Mr. TAYLOR. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Roy W. Noel, N-o-e-l, no address other than San Diego.

Mr. TAYLOR. I knew Roy Noel, but never in the Communist Party. He might have dropped out before I joined it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Everett O. Still, S-t-i-l-l, 2637 K Street, San Diego.

Mr. TAYLOR. I knew Everett Still personally as a member when I was in the Communist Party. He dropped out in late 1935.

Mr. TAVENNER. Dorothy Thayer, T-h-a-y-e-r, 3541 Marlborough, San Diego.

Mr. TAYLOR. I never have heard of the name until now.

Mr. TAVENNER. Robert Thayer, same address.

Mr. TAYLOR. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, that completes the names on the 1934 list. 1936: Edna Mae Eby, E-b-y, 233 Lincoln Avenue.

Mr. TAYLOR. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. El Cahone.

Mr. TAYLOR. Yes, I knew that person in the Communist Party. That person dropped out early in 1938.

Mr. TAVENNER. Stanley Hancock appears again. Bessie A. Keckler appears again.

Lacey Kyle, K-y-l-e, Route 1, National City, Calif.

Mr. TAYLOR. I knew Lacey Kyle as a customer of the International Book Shop, but I never saw Lacey Kyle at a Communist meeting.

Mr. TAVENNER. Therefore you cannot tell the committee that he was a member of the Communist Party to your knowledge.

Mr. TAYLOR. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Esco L. Richardson, 414 West 16th Street, National City.

Mr. TAYLOR. Yes; he was a member of my Communist unit for quite some time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Henry E. Shrum, S-h-r-u-m.

Mr. TAYLOR. I knew Henry Shrum as a sympathizer of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Let me make this suggestion: Unless you are certain in your own mind, unless you can positively identify the witness as a person known to you to have been a member of the Communist Party, I believe that you should not make statements that might be interpreted one way or another, if you understand what I mean.

Mr. TAYLOR. Yes.

Mr. JACKSON. May the Chair interpose a question.

It is true, is it not, that the names that are now being read were certified to the secretary of state of the State of California in accordance with the Electoral Code as members of the Communist Party and so appeared in public records?

Mr. TAVENNER. That is correct; and I overlooked that fact.

Mr. TAYLOR. They must have been registered Communists at the courthouse or they couldn't be on the list.

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes. Everett O. Still, the same name that was mentioned in 1934.

Herbert Stredwick, S-t-r-e-d-w-i-c-k, route 2, box 483, San Diego.

Mr. TAYLOR. I didn't know him as a Communist Party member.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have read to you the list for 1940. In 1942 there appears only one name, Matthew S. Vidaver, V-i-d-a-v-e-r, 3026 45th street, San Diego. You were not here in the Communist Party at that time, but have you ever known him as a member of the Communist Party? At that time?

Mr. TAYLOR. No; I never heard of him.

Mr. JACKSON. I think during this interlude that the Lucille Ball matter should be more clearly put in the record. I believe Miss Ball had knowledge of registration in the Communist Party, but denied any activity or of having attended any party functions during the period of time she was registered. We should get that matter very definitely in the record.

Mr. TAYLOR. Might I say that because a person registers at the courthouse as a Democrat or Republican, it doesn't mean they belong or are dues-paying members of either organization.

Mr. JACKSON. That is very true. However, the fact of the registration is a matter of public record and was so acknowledged to be. No connotation should be drawn as to whether or not she took part in any activity whatever.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, may I ask this question, in view of that observation. You referred to the major political parties. What is our experience, if any, as to whether or not people who registered as Communists in California during your membership therein, were active members of the Communist Party? In other words, would people register or did they register as Communists unless in fact they were as a rule Communists?

Mr. TAYLOR. Sometimes they would register Communist but not be active in any way in the Communist Party; in no way at all, as in the case of Mellisse Gragg. She was never active in the Communist Party, although she was registered Communist, and her name appears in the State central committee registered at Sacramento.

Mr. JACKSON. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, whether or not there was a group or cell of the Communist Party within Scripps Institution of Oceanography?

Mr. TAYLOR. I believe it was in 1940 when Esco Richardson asked me to do a chore for him. He asked me if I would go out and deliver an educational lecture to a Communist Party group at Scripps Institution of Oceanography and I told him I would. I hadn't known of the existence of any such group there, but I went out to the meeting and delivered a lecture for about 45 minutes.

Mr. TAVENNER. How many persons attended that meeting?

Mr. TAYLOR. There were probably 10 or 11 in all. I am not to certain.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where was the meeting held?

Mr. TAYLOR. It was held in one of the cottages on the grounds of the Scripps Institution of Oceanography.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you see anyone at the meeting you had ever met before?

Mr. TAYLOR. Only one. That was Paul Alexander.

Mr. TAVENNER. Paul Alexander?

Mr. TAYLOR. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, do you know the reason for Paul Alexander being at the meeting?

Mr. TAYLOR. Well, he was assigned—I learned from him that he had been assigned to lead and guide and direct this group.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was that a highly secret matter?

Mr. TAYLOR. Yes; it was. In fact, Paul Alexander felt that shouldn't even have been let in on the secret.

Mr. TAVENNER. How do you know that?

Mr. TAYLOR. Well, from what he said. He said that he expected Richardson and he thought Richardson should have been a little more secretive, and he didn't want more people to know about this.

Mr. TAVENNER. At this particular time did you hold any position in the Communist Party yourself?

Mr. TAYLOR. I was county educational director.

Mr. TAVENNER. But you as county educational director did not know of the existence of this group?

Mr. TAYLOR. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. What position in the Communist Party did Richardson hold at that time?

Mr. TAYLOR. He was the county organizer and Paul Alexander was the chairman, the county chairman. This might have been in late 1939. I am not too positive as to the date.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you given the names of any of the persons present at that meeting while you were there?

Mr. TAYLOR. No; I don't believe any names were mentioned at all.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you introduced to any of the members?

Mr. TAYLOR. Possibly, yes; first names, Bill, Bob, or Paul, like that. I don't even remember any of the first names.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did it appear to be a group of students or was it a group of persons older than students, who would normally have some connection with the school in an official way?

Mr. TAYLOR. They seemed to be representative of an official capacity. They were older than students. They were generally in their middle twenties. I understood, I was told they were associate instructors.

tors or part of the personnel. They were part of the personnel of Scripps Institute living on the grounds. I don't know what they would be called.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, may I ask at this point, I want to suggest to the witness that he be very, very sure now in his testimony of who he refers to and what he knows for himself, and what he knows by hearsay involving this institution. I would like to question him on just one or two points.

I think you said just a minute ago that they were representatives of the institution. Now, that might lead, Mr. Witness, to a pretty strong inference that they were there in an official capacity. You don't mean that; do you?

Mr. TAYLOR. No. It might have been a poor choice of words. They all said, they all told me where they lived. They lived on the grounds of the Scripps Institute, and that they worked there.

Mr. DOYLE. They all told you that?

Mr. TAYLOR. Yes. Not the women, some of the wives didn't work there.

Mr. DOYLE. Well, it was in a private cottage; as far as you know it was in a residence; wasn't it?

Mr. TAYLOR. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. Was it at night?

Mr. TAYLOR. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. And Paul Alexander told you it was a group from Scripps?

Mr. TAYLOR. Yes; a group of resident people; I don't remember the terms used. I don't remember just what capacity they had.

Mr. DOYLE. You don't remember just what he told you?

Mr. TAYLOR. No; I am trying to recollect, but I am afraid I can't.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, the reason I took occasion to ask these questions, it manifestly involves a public institution more or less, and I wanted to be sure the witness was aware of the fact that people would rely on the language you use, Mr. Witness, in connection with this incident at Scripps that you were there and the occasion.

That is all, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. JACKSON. Proceed, counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. How many did you say were in attendance?

Mr. TAYLOR. Well around 10, I should say, 10 or maybe 11.

Mr. TAVENNER. You spoke of it being a mixed group of men and women.

Mr. TAYLOR. It was about 14 years ago.

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. TAYLOR. I don't remember how many women were there, maybe 2 or 3, possibly 2 or 3.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether any of the group were husbands and wives?

Mr. TAYLOR. I think they all were. The women were married to the men there. I mean the individuals there.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you invited back on any further occasion?

Mr. TAYLOR. No; I was not.

Mr. TAVENNER. But Mr. Paul Alexander had the assignment of developing this group?

Mr. TAYLOR. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I don't know whether we should go into another matter now or whether we are close enough to an adjourning period and you wish to adjourn.

Mr. JACKSON. At this time the subcommittee will stand in recess until 1:30 and the room will please be cleared.

(Whereupon at 12:05 p. m., a recess was taken until 1:30 p. m. of the same day, Monday, April 19, 1954.)

AFTERNOON SESSION

(The subcommittee reconvened, pursuant to recess, at 1:30 p. m., Congressmen Donald L. Jackson and Clyde Doyle being present.)

Mr. JACKSON. The committee will be in order.

Do you wish to recall Mr. Taylor?

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Taylor.

TESTIMONY OF DANIEL POMEROY TAYLOR—Resumed

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Taylor, you told us this morning that one of your assignments in the Communist Party was to engage in the work of the Young Communist League.

Mr. TAYLOR. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee about that assignment, that is, what the nature of it was and what your activities were.

Mr. TAYLOR. In 1935 there were two units of a Young Communist League and I was assigned to one of them. The leaders were Mrs. Hancock, that is Mrs. Winnie Hancock, the wife of Stanley Hancock, and Ray Berquist.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is the last name?

Mr. TAYLOR. B-e-r-q-u-i-s-t, and Bob Feller, F-e-l-l-e-r, and they were supposed to concentrate on San Diego State College in an attempt to organize a branch of the American Student Union and from there to recruit college students into the Young Communist League.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was that work undertaken?

Mr. TAYLOR. They were not very effective at San Diego State College and I don't believe they ever had much success in those depression years at San Diego State College, none that I can recall.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is there any further information regarding the activities of the Young Communist League that you can now give the committee?

Mr. TAYLOR. The Young Communist League in San Diego was a very small organization. I doubt if they had more than 14 or 15 members, and they were losing members quite fast. It was quite an unstable organization and there were periods in which it would fold up completely. I know it was not very—there were many months in 1936 when it completely fell apart, then they attempted to organize it again in 1937, but it did not make much headway.

Mr. TAVENNER. During the course of the testimony you have given us the names of quite a number of persons who have been identified with the Communist Party in this area, either as officials of the Communist Party or representatives on the State central committee and rank and file members of your particular groups of the Communist Party. However, you told us there were anywhere from 12 to 18 different groups of the Communist Party here.

What opportunity did you have to meet members of these other groups, that is, groups that you were not a member of?

Mr. TAYLOR. I was expected to visit several of the other groups at least once or twice a year to observe how they were functioning and help them in their educational work. Of course I didn't—there must have been some that I didn't go to. The industrial section of the Communist Party at San Diego which I was out of touch with in 1938, I was never invited there to speak because many of the Communists who were employed in industry wanted to have as few visitors as possible outside their group. They were always afraid of detection so there were probably 5 or 6—I believe 5 or 6 units of the Communist Party that I would visit once or twice a year.

There was an East San Diego Communist Party, a National City unit of the Communist Party, a Logan Heights Communist Party. They had one in Encinitas and one in Pacific Beach. And, of course, the one in downtown San Diego was the unit which I belonged to.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you give the committee the names of any other persons who can be recalled by you, that is, persons known to you to have been members of the Communist Party and not already identified by you.

Mr. TAYLOR. I mentioned the most that I can think of offhand.

Mr. JACKSON. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you recall any others?

Mr. TAYLOR. Well, I recall only one at this time, one James McDermott, of La Mesa. He was a member of the Communist Party for several years and one of the leaders of the La Mesa unit of the Communist Party. He broke with the Communist Party about late 1928.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with a person by the name of Carl Callendar?

Mr. TAYLOR. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. What were the circumstances under which you became acquainted with him?

Mr. TAYLOR. Carl Callendar was a customer on a few occasions at the International Book Shop. He would probably drop in once a month, he would talk and purchase a few pamphlets, and he was recruited into the Communist Party early sometime in 1936, as I remember, late 1936 or early 1937, but as I remember he did not remain very long at that time and dropped out because of reasons of bad health.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with a person by the name of Delgado?

Mr. TAYLOR. Yes, I was.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was his first name?

Mr. TAYLOR. Mike Delgado, he was the unit organizer of the National City unit of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have mentioned in the course of your testimony several times a Communist Party member by the name of Paul Alexander.

Mr. TAYLOR. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. In what business was Mr. Alexander engaged, do you know?

Mr. TAYLOR. No. His health wasn't, I believe, good enough for him to work too steadily. No, I don't know what occupation he had.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, how money was raised for the purpose of carrying on the expenses of the Communist Party in this area. Do you have any personal knowledge of that?

Mr. TAYLOR. Well, the Communist Party had a number of financial contributors of business people who may have been close to the Socialist Party back in earlier days, anywhere from 1910 through the 1920's. When the Socialist Party dropped out of activity in San Diego, the Communist Party went to work trying to raise money from these people who had formerly been sympathetic to the Socialist Party. There was a vacuum there in the absence of the Socialist Party and the pressure of the Communists on these people, some of them having successful businesses, and they would attempt to ask them for monthly donations.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were substantial contributions made from those sources?

Mr. TAYLOR. Of course I have no knowledge of how much was raised because I was not too closely connected with the financial ends.

Mr. TAVENNER. It was not one of your duties to solicit for such contributions?

Mr. TAYLOR. Well, for a few months I was given a list of small business people to go around once a month and ask them for \$10 each but that was just for a short period.

Mr. TAVENNER. How many persons did you have on that list who were contributing as much as \$10 a month?

Mr. TAYLOR. Well, the Communist Party in, I would say, 1940 gave me a list of 7 or 8 small stores on Fifth Street between Market and E, and these people, the owners of these stores were generally refugees from Russia, people who I think most of them had left Russia as young men, boys in their teens, and wherever the Communist Party discovered that a businessman in San Diego had a Russian background and was born in Russia, they would go to him and talk to him and say they would like a monthly contribution to the Communist Party, and even though the man might not have been sympathetic at all, he felt that perhaps he had better contribute five or ten dollars rather than suffer any possible consequences. It was more or less case of intimidation.

Mr. TAVENNER. I wonder, Mr. Chairman, if we had better proceed in executive session for the further consideration of that matter.

Mr. JACKSON. Yes, I think so.

Mr. TAYLOR. This, as I say, happened in 1940 and it was just for a few months; I hadn't laid any groundwork, I didn't know the men personally, but I was given a card which said, which entitled myself to collect funds for the Communist Party and it seemed that many of these people told me that they certainly didn't agree with what was going on in Russia, but they would usually say, "Well, I made a pledge that I would help, so here is \$10." They weren't a bit happy about it. I wasn't either, to tell you the truth, but it was an assignment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know of any other assignments that were given by the Communist Party which related to the raising of funds, substantial funds, for the use of the Communist Party?

Mr. TAYLOR. Well, not too much. I know there was a circle of sympathizers, nonparty sympathizers, whom I knew—whom I heard rather, from other Communist leaders.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, I expect your testimony there is probably hearsay when you say, "I heard."

Mr. TAYLOR. Yes. I heard it in meetings of the Communist executive committee.

Mr. TAVENNER. But did you have any personal knowledge by way of conversation with Mr. Paul Alexander of any assignment that he had with regard to the procurement of funds for use by the Communist Party?

Mr. TAYLOR. Well, I recall one case of an elderly gentleman who was not a Communist, but had been a Socialist sympathizer at least back before World War I, and this man, Henry Weihe, W-e-i-h-e, had bought \$10,000 worth of Soviet gold bonds right after the Russian revolution, I don't know how long after, probably in 1920 or 1921, and Paul Alexander told me that he had been assigned by the Communist Party to try to convince Mr. Weihe to donate, to make a donation of that \$10,000 back to the Communist Party rather than give it to any of his heirs.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he an elderly person; that is, Mr. Weihe?

Mr. TAYLOR. Yes; I think he was over 65 at that time, as I remember. Right around 65 in 1939, when I first heard of this.

Mr. TAVENNER. What were the circumstances under which Mr. Alexander told you of this?

Mr. TAYLOR. Well, I simply noticed that the two men, Alexander and Weihe, seemed to be inseparable companions. They came to the International Book Store together and they went to social functions, social parties, and house parties and open Communist meetings together and I asked Paul Alexander how it happened that he was escorting Weihe about so much.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know where that conversation took place?

Mr. TAYLOR. Yes; in the book store at 635 Eighth Street.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did I understand you to say that that was during the year 1939?

Mr. TAYLOR. I believe it was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether or not the two traveled in a car together; that is, Mr. Weihe and Mr. Alexander?

Mr. TAYLOR. Yes; I generally saw them in Alexander's car, and he had a Ford coupe, I believe. Mr. Weihe didn't have a car.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall whether in your conversation with Mr. Alexander about this matter that the attitude of the Russian government about paying the bonds was discussed?

Mr. TAYLOR. Yes; Alexander said that the Soviet Union would rather that this money, this \$10,000, went into the coffers of the Communist Party, rather than have it paid to any of Henry Weihe's heirs.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you have any conversation with Mr. Alexander any later date as to whether or not he had been successful in getting the \$10,000 from Mr. Weihe for Communist Party purposes?

Mr. TAYLOR. No; I never discussed it with him again. In fact, I left the Communist Party in San Diego in May 1941, and I never saw him since until this morning in this hall.

Mr. TAVENNER. I believe you told us in the early part of your testimony that you went to Los Angeles in 1940.

Mr. TAYLOR. 1941.

Mr. TAVENNER. 1941. Did you retain your Communist Party membership after going to Los Angeles?

Mr. TAYLOR. Yes, I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. For how long a period of time?

Mr. TAYLOR. Approximately 7 months.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you attain any position in the Communist Party in Los Angeles?

Mr. TAYLOR. When I went to Los Angeles, I dropped in one evening to the workers' school, which was then located at Second and Spring Streets, I believe, in Los Angeles, and I was asked by the head of the workers' school if I would accept the job as an associate instructor.

Mr. TAVENNER. And did you accept it?

Mr. TAYLOR. I said I was busy, and the head of the workers' school must have checked and found that I wasn't very busy, and I was ordered to teach a class.

Mr. TAVENNER. And how long did you engage in that work?

Mr. TAYLOR. For 4 or 5 months.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, the circumstances under which you left the Communist Party? And by that mean why you left and how you managed to get out of the party.

Mr. TAYLOR. In November 1941, the head of the workers' school in Los Angeles came out to a meeting of the industrial section leadership of which I was then a member. As I mentioned, I obtained a job at Vincer Steel and was put into an industrial section of the Communist Party and was selected as one of the industrial section leaders.

The head of the workers' school came to the meeting of this industrial section of approximately 15 or 16 Communists, they were the leadership of several Communist industrial units, and to everyone's surprise she asked for my expulsion from the Communist Party on the grounds that it was her opinion I was no longer a Communist that I didn't agree with the Communist Party, and she considered that I shouldn't be in the Communist Party. It boiled down to the fact they had grown suspicious of me. To give a brief explanation of what caused that, it was discovered early in that same year while I was in San Diego, it was discovered that the FBI was obtaining information from the county Communist leadership and everybody was suspecting everybody else, so I fell under the most suspicion, and that was one of the reasons why I was asked in April 1941 by the Communist Party leadership—they said that I had been transferred to San Francisco, that I was to work in San Francisco, and I said I would rather, if I had to leave, I would rather go to Los Angeles, and so I left and went to Los Angeles, and Communists, of course, are not supposed to dispute orders, they are supposed to go where they send you—

Mr. TAVENNER. You mean you were required to give up your position?

Mr. TAYLOR. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. And your employment here?

Mr. TAYLOR. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. And go and do the work of the party in some other place?

Mr. TAYLOR. Well, I was on the Communist Party payroll.

Mr. TAVENNER. At that time?

Mr. TAYLOR. At that time, in late 1940 and early 1941. But instead of going to San Francisco I went to Los Angeles and obtained employment at Vincar Steel, hoping that I could drop out of the Communist Party, but there were Communists in the plant, and I was again surrounded by Communists. It was then that they asked me to come down to the workers' school, and there I was asked to teach a class.

I apparently wasn't ready to make a sharp break at that time, and didn't make a complete break until November of 1941, when the Communist Party brought charges of expulsion against me.

At this particular meeting the head of the workers' school was unsuccessful, because the majority of the Communists at this meeting said they didn't think any evidence had been brought against me, that they didn't think I should be expelled, so the following week the same head of the workers' school came back and asked that I be relieved of the membership in the State central committee and be relieved of all Communist leadership for a period of 1 year, at which time I broke completely, that is, I moved my place of residence and I changed my occupation, and from then on avoided contact with the Communist Party and broke completely.

Mr. TAVENNER. The charges for which you were dropped related to the suspicion that you had given information to the Federal Bureau of Investigation?

Mr. TAYLOR. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did I understand that correctly?

Mr. TAYLOR. I believe that had something to do with it. I wish those charges had been correct. At that time I was not in contact with any Government agency. But I should have been.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have been to a Government agency since that time, have you not?

Mr. TAYLOR. I was threatened in 1942 by a man who is the head of the San Pedro Communist Party, I was threatened, he said, "You have been doing a lot of talking on this job against communism amongst liberals and amongst the men here, and I just want to warn you," he said, "that if you go to the FBI, we are going to make it tough for you," so with such a challenge, I went to the FBI.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who was that individual?

Mr. TAYLOR. I haven't thought of his name for years. Joseph Solomon.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you give any further identifying information relating to him?

Mr. TAYLOR. Well, he was raised in San Diego, although he was living in San Pedro at the time. He went through San Diego High School and graduated and he worked in San Diego until approximately 1939, early 1939, when he went to Los Angeles and took up residence.

Mr. JACKSON. In what work was he engaged at that time?

Mr. TAYLOR. He was working as a welder in the shipyards, Todd Shipyards. Not a welder; a burner, a burner in Todd Shipyards.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you been affiliated or connected in any way with Communist Party activity since the date of your breaking with the Communist Party?

Mr. TAYLOR. No, I have not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Has any effort been made to get you to return to the Communist Party?

Mr. TAYLOR. No, there has not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I think I have no further question.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. I think, Mr. Chairman, may I ask counsel a question please?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. What is the fact whether or not this witness has named any individual, more than one or one, as a Communist and identified them as such for the first time those persons have been named in public? Are there such persons who have been named today for the first time in public?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, all of the individuals mentioned by him with the exception of certain leaders, like Schneiderman and a few others have been named for the first time in public session.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, then I think it very appropriate, don't you, that I call attention to the group that are here with us in this meeting to the fact that under rule 10 of our established set of rules guiding this committee, which was adopted July 1, 1953, that the persons named today for the first time before this committee in public under rule 10, and so it is short I will read it.

Rights of persons affected by hearing:

Where practicable, any person named in a public hearing before the committee or any subcommittee as subversive, Fascist, Communist, or affiliated with one or more subversive-front organization, who have not been previously named shall within a reasonable time thereafter, be notified by registered letter, to the address last known to the committee, of such fact, including:

- (1) A statement that he has been so named;
- (2) The date and place of said hearing;
- (3) The name of the person who so testified;
- (4) The name of the subversive Fascist, Communist, or front organization with whom he has been identified;
- (5) A copy of the printed rules of procedure of the committee.

B. Any person, so notified, who believes that his character or reputation has been adversely affected or to whom has been imputed subversive activity, may within 15 days after receipt of said notice:

- (1) Communicate with the counsel of the committee, and/or
- (2) Request to appear at his own expense in person before the committee or any subcommittee thereof in public session and give testimony, in denial or affirmation, relevant and germane to the subject of the investigation.

C. Any such person testifying under the provisions of B (2) above shall be accorded the same privileges as any other witness appearing before the committee, and may be questioned concerning any matter relevant and germane to the subject of the investigation.

I thought, Mr. Chairman, it appropriate at this point to read this into the record so that those who hear it in this hearing will be possibly advised that this committee has established this procedure whereby it is no longer true that a person named before this committee never hears about it except by accident.

If we have the address of that person that person does receive registered mail a notice, as you will observe in rule 10.

I might state, Mr. Chairman, I think it is a fact that this committee for the first time in the history of any congressional committee in the history of our great Congress has adopted such procedure for the protection of people who are entitled to clear their record if they so desire.

Mr. JACKSON. Thank you, Mr. Doyle.

The administrative clerk of the committee will, upon receipt of the transcript of this hearing, so notify all individuals who have been named for the first time.

We have been advised that Senator Fred Kraft, a member of the [California] State committee on un-American activities, who has done an excellent job in the State of California, is in the hearing room.

We are very happy to have you, Senator, and hope you will stay as long as you wish.

Do you have any further questions, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions.

Mr. DOYLE. I think, Mr. Chairman, I have two questions.

You said, Mr. Witness, "I was ordered to teach a class." I wrote it down. I think that was in November of 1941.

Mr. TAYLOR. No, that was in May 1941.

Mr. DOYLE. Were you not on the payroll of the Communist Party?

Mr. TAYLOR. No.

Mr. DOYLE. Who ordered you to teach a class, and why would you take orders from Communist Party leaders if you were not being paid to teach, why did you teach merely because somebody told you to?

Mr. TAYLOR. Well, many of their teachers were unpaid teachers. It was just one evening—well, two evenings a week, and many of their teachers were unpaid.

Mr. DOYLE. Well, apparently you were under the discipline of the Communist Party or you wouldn't have taken their orders.

Mr. TAYLOR. That is right.

Mr. DOYLE. Three times you emphasized that you were expected to help and ordered to help in youth work. Now, that, of course, deals with our young people, our teenagers and young Americans, without doubt the most important segment in our country, the young people.

What did you actually do in youth work; you said it didn't amount to much, but what did you do individually?

Mr. TAYLOR. My activity in youth work was organizing a young dramatic group of actors. We put on one-act plays, many of which I wrote. These plays were presented at house socials and Sunday picnics. Nearly every Sunday they have a large picnic, with 200 people, possibly, in attendance, and my sole activity in youth work in 1936 was organizing this group of young actors who were called the Labor Theater.

Mr. DOYLE. May I make this observation. You tell me if I am in error. As I understand it, the Communist Party historically emphasizes and places great emphasis upon the youth work, trying to get the American youth into the party affiliation as soon as practicable; isn't that true?

Mr. TAYLOR. That is correct.

Mr. DOYLE. And that there is considerable money spent on the national level and State level and on down to the local level of Communist Party activities to try to capture the minds and the lives of the young American folks, is that true?

Mr. TAYLOR. That is correct.

Mr. DOYLE. One more question, Mr. Chairman.

On this San Diego State College, you said that there were only 14 or 15 members there, not very effective, in those depression years. If

you have an opinion as to why that effort to get San Diego State College students into the party activities; why wasn't it effective? You tried to do it.

Mr. TAYLOR. Apparently I didn't make myself too clear. I meant that there were about 14 members of the Young Communist League, but these 14 were not at State College. The Communist Party requested, ordered them to concentrate on trying to get a foothold in San Diego State College, and I can only think of 2 students at San Diego State College in 1936 that were Communists, one was named Tony Kerrigan, and the other fellow, his name eludes me.

Mr. DOYLE. Well, I wanted that clarified in my own mind.

Mr. TAYLOR. With such a small base they were unable to do much out there.

Mr. DOYLE. But you were in charge of the youth work at that time?

Mr. TAYLOR. No, I wasn't in charge of the youth work.

Mr. DOYLE. Who was?

Mr. TAYLOR. Well, I mentioned the leadership of the Young Communist League was Winnie Hancock, Bob Feller, and Ray Berquist.

Mr. DOYLE. I think that is all.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, there is another question I believe I should ask the witness.

Mr. JACKSON. May I ask two questions here.

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. JACKSON. During the course of your associations with the Communist Party and front organizations in the general area of San Diego, did you have occasion to meet or to engage in any activity with an individual by the name of Schwartz, S-c-h-w-a-r-t-z?

Mr. TAYLOR. What was his first name?

Mr. JACKSON. I am sorry, I don't know the first name.

Mr. TAYLOR. I never knew a Communist by the name of Schwartz.

Mr. JACKSON. Did you ever know anyone who entered into any contract or any agreement with the Communist Party by the name of Schwartz?

Mr. TAYLOR. Entered into an agreement with the Communist Party?

Mr. JACKSON. Yes.

Mr. TAYLOR. Well, I did know a man named Schwartz who was sympathizer, but the name is an exceedingly common name.

Mr. JACKSON. Did you have any personal relationship with the individual, the one you knew as a sympathizer?

Mr. TAYLOR. I never collected any money from him. I didn't have too much connection with him.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Counsel, are you in possession of the name? There has been a name mentioned here several times today of a previous organizer here in the district whom we subpoenaed and heard in Washington. My recollection is that the name was Bert.

Mr. TAYLOR. Mr. Chairman, could I make a statement?

Mr. JACKSON. Yes, please do.

Mr. TAYLOR. I would like to point out for your edification and understanding of people in general, that the methods, like you mentioned the methods in which the Communists recruited people, I would say more than 9 out of 10 people who were recruited to communism were high pressured into it. They were surrounded by Communists, the

Communists did favors for them, got them jobs, such as they did me, they got me a job that I enjoyed, and surrounded me, and when we were out to their house socials, and that was after doing favors for people and getting them obligated, then the Communists put the pressure on to recruit them.

So I think that should be kept in mind that 9 out of 10 or possibly more Communists were sold a bum bill of goods. They were told a lot of, given a lot of rosy promises, that is what the Communist Party stood for, they claimed they stood for everything fine, you know, their program was quite a chocolate-coated document, and looked good on the surface to a lot of liberal people, and so people who joined the Communist Party not only were pressured into joining, but many of them had decent motives, or I would say nearly all of them had decent motives, and they had no inkling that they were doing anything traitorous or doing anything of harm to the United States. This in the depression and during the war years never entered the mind of recruit to communism, that he was being disloyal, because the Communists said it was not a disloyal act.

The Communists claimed Russia to be a great good friend of the United States until the last 8 years, and the Communists claimed that they had a program and they had a social and economic understanding that could benefit the entire American people, so a lot of gullible people like myself were influenced and high-pressured, and that is the story of 99 percent of the American people that joined the Communist Party and that is why I don't think there should be any—I agree with you, I don't think you believe either there should be any hysteria or any reprisals against those individuals who made a mistake or who were high-pressured into joining the Communist Party.

Mr. JACKSON. The committee, I might say, and I am sure that Mr. Doyle agrees with me, finds itself under the necessity of calling people whose membership extends back across the years; in some instances the committee must pursue that course in the light of the fact that the Smith Act defendants of today were people who were branch members in many cases many years ago.

We have no way of telling the present status of a member of the Communist Party until under oath he is asked to furnish the committee with whatever information he may have in his possession.

Relative to your own case and the testimony you have given here today, we want to extend the thanks of the committee and of the Congress of the United States for your helpfulness and your cooperation in adding to the sum total of knowledge which the American people now possess relative to the operations of the Communist Party.

The fact that the American people are today probably better informed with reference to the activities of what has been found in the highest court of the land to represent an international conspiracy is due in large part to the fact that people like yourself who have broken with the party have expressed the willingness to come forward with information which is in their possession.

Is there anything further, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Doyle?

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, perhaps in view of the witness' observations, I am sure it would be enlightening to all of us for me to read

the statement by the Vice President of the United States, which appeared in the Los Angeles Examiner on Sunday, April 18, 1954, right along that line. I will only read a portion.

On page 6, section 1, part A, Vice President Nixon, who by the way, was on this committee as you know for years, said:

The big question posed by the Oppenheimer case is whether the Government should take the position that past associations, even if foresworn, should ever preclude Government employment. "I do not believe it should," Nixon said, adding, "I believe each case should be considered on its merits particularly when dealing with an ideology which during the 1930's had such an appeal among the intelligensia and various other groups."

I thought in view of the witness' observation and yours, Mr. Chairman, that observation this last week from our distinguished Vice President would be appropriate.

I wish to urge the very point you, Mr. Chairman, have urged, but I do wish to again urge that this committee, in order to do its official job for the United States Congress under Public Law 601, must go back as far as is reasonable to find out the extent and the nature and the methods and the technique which was employed by the Communist Party back in 1936, 1937, 1938, 1939, and 1940, because our evidence, I am sure you will agree, Mr. Chairman, the undisputed evidence under oath before our committees, the very methods which you, Mr. Taylor, said were used when you were the head of the party in this country, are still used by the American Communist Party in the United States of America, subversively.

They are still in a conspiracy to subvert labor unions and church groups and YMCA's and any group in which they can conspiratorially infiltrate as a bunch of sneaks and undercover dangerous American citizens.

I just want to take this position at this hearing, Mr. Chairman. As far as I am concerned, any American citizen who stayed in the party and is actively working in it since April 1945, at least, the date of the Duclos letter, is the citizen that needs to be scanned and scanned mighty close. But that is not eliminating the need of scanning him before that date. But April 1945, the date the Duclos letter came to this country it was declared that the two systems of economics, the American system and the Soviet system could not get along side by side in the same world. Since that date any American citizen who stayed in the Communist Party has done so with his eyes open. The Soviet system is determined to overcome and conquer the American system of free enterprise, so we are in that challenge and that is why this committee is here under direction of Congress to stay on the job to uncover the subversive, traitorous, sabotage and treason that is going on.

Mr. JACKSON. Thank you, Mr. Doyle.

Mr. Counsel, do you have any further questions?

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Taylor, with thanks from the committee, you are excused from further attendance under your subpoena.

(Whereupon, at 2:25 p. m., the witness was excused and the hearing continued with the testimony of Sterling Campbell Alexander and Philip Berman, which is printed in part 5 of this series.)

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